

# BASIC PRINCIPLES



ALPARSLAN TURKES

# **BERSERKER**

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## **BOOKS**

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## BASIC PRINCIPLES

Alparslan Türkeş

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BASIC VIEWS



DERGÂH PUBLICATIONS

P.O. Box 1240-ISTANBUL

## INTRODUCTION

Although the history of political relations and political thought can be traced back to the dawn of human history, political parties are a product of the last century. The emergence of political parties is regarded as an important stage in the democratisation process within the Western system. Political parties, which are linked to the interests of various social groups, have emerged as the most important institutionalisation for ensuring the balance of class power in the structure of society. Political parties, striving to gain power on behalf of the social classes they represent, have positively influenced the development of democratic pluralism, while also contributing to a less unequal distribution of economic resources.

Political parties that reduce conflicts within the Western system by developing and spreading democratic and economic rights have become indispensable elements of the order. In this respect, political parties, as instruments of the struggle for political power, have become the subject of all kinds of material and moral protection. Today, regardless of their form, the protection of parties outside of power, taking into account their role in the social order, is one of the fundamental characteristics of Western democracies.

Even today in Turkey, it is difficult to speak of the existence of political parties in the Western sense. Starting with the Committee of Union and Progress, which was initially established as a secret revolutionary society, a very different tradition has prevailed in Turkey, where organisations bearing the name "party" have emerged. Generally, unlike in the West, these are not based on class foundations.

Political, administrative and social structures based on party politics are characterised by the emergence of different ideas within parties. In this regard, the claims of certain political organisations to represent the interests of emerging social groups are entirely new and of a different nature. In Turkey, with the Westernising approach that continues the tradition of the Committee of Union and Progress, partners representing this mentality with varying degrees of intensity have been established from time to time, some of which have survived to this day. This negativity in the political party tradition has been reflected in the public, and prejudices against organisations engaged in democratic power struggles and opposing parties have taken root. The tradition reflected from above to below has led various party members and sympathisers to engage in a form of party politics that could be described as "four-way fighting", without ever learning about the ideas, programmes and statutes of opposing parties.

in a manner that could be described as "partisanship for the sake of partisanship". It could even be said that these individuals do not properly understand their own party's programme, constitution and the principles they espouse.

Dergah Publications aims to shed light on the ongoing turmoil of this era by presenting the truths about Turkish political life without bias. First, books reflecting the ideas of today's political party leaders will be published, and over time, books and studies that shed light on the development of political thought in Turkey will be presented to our readers. The series "Turkish Political Thought," prepared by an authoritative committee, is based on the need to shed light on trends in Turkish political life.

DERGÂH PUBLICATIONS

## The life story of Alparslan Türkeş

Türkeş was born in Kayseri. His great-grandfather Arif Ağa and his family migrated from Yukarıköşerli in the Pınarbaşı district of Kayseri and settled in Cyprus.

Türkeş completed his primary and secondary education in Letköşe. In 1932, he married Ahmet Hanım Efendi, the daughter of Zehra Hanım.

Türkeş completed his primary and secondary education in Letİtoşe. In 1932, driven by a longing for homeland and freedom under British occupation, he and his family emigrated to Turkey and settled in Istanbul. From an early age, Türkeş was

drawn to a military career. He entered the İtuleli Military High School in 1933, graduated in 1936, and went on to the Military Academy. In 1938, he successfully completed the Military Academy and went to the Infantry Shooting School with the

rank of second lieutenant.

In 1939, he joined the army with the rank of lieutenant. During these years, his poems and writings appeared in nationalist literary magazines.

The case known as the "Tırancılık dıvası" (Tırancılık Trial) led to his arrest in May 1944. Following the trial, he was acquitted in April 1945 and released.

In 1945, while holding the rank of captain, he published a book entitled Tank Hunting due to the importance of tanks in World War II. He passed the exams held by the Military Academy and entered the Military Academy, becoming an officer.

On the radio, from 1950 to 1955, he gave talks on "Total Defence" and

•Leadership" on the radio.

In 1955, Major TürReş was appointed to the Turkish General Staff delegation to the Permanent Group in Washington, D.C., and remained in this position until 1958.

During this period, Türkeş attended the evening programme at George Washington University, studying international economics and English composition.

In 1959, he was sent to Germany to attend the Atomic and Nuclear School, which he also completed successfully.

He represented the General Staff at various NATO meetings and military manoeuvres in Europe.

On 27 May 1960, Türkeş, one of the leading figures of the National Unity Movement, regarded this movement as a non-partisan and national **unity-promoting** movement. After the coup, he became a member of the National Unity Committee and was appointed as Prime Minister. He served as Prime Minister from 27 May 1960 to 25 September 1960. Draft laws that did not become law, such as the Ideology and Culture Union Bill, and those that did become law, such as the State **Planning** Organisation Bill, were prepared under Türkeş's directives for the benefit of the state and the nation. During this period, Türkeş, who was working to achieve the true goals of the National Unity Movement, was removed from the committee along with some of his colleagues on 13 November 1960, as a result of the persuasion of some party politicians on certain members of the M.B.K., in violation of the Constitution. He was detained at the Mürted Air Base and on 19 November 1960, he was forced to reside in India with the title of Government Advisor. While in India, Türkeş constantly warned state officials.

On 22 February 1961, Türkeş returned to the country and attempted to establish an association

and was arrested on 21 May in connection with the events of that date. and was released on 5 September 1961 following the trial.

Türkeş joined the C.IN.M.P. on 31 March 1964, was appointed as the party's general secretary, and was elected as the party's chairman by the General Congress on 31 July 1965. He was also elected as General Chairman at the general congresses held in November 1967, February 1968, May 1971 and June 1973.

The name of the C.K.M.P. was changed to the Nationalist Movement Party at the General Congress held in February 1969, at the suggestion of Türkeş.

Türkeş was elected as a Member of Parliament from Ankara in the 1955 elections, and from Adana in the 1969 and 1973 elections.

Türkeş, whose wife passed away in 1974, is the father of five children. Türkeş, who speaks English, has published the following major works: Dokuz Işık (Nine Lights), 1944 Milliyetçilik Olayı (The 1944 Nationalism Incident), Türkiye'nin Meseleleri (Turkey's Issues), Yeni Ufuklara Doğru (Towards New Horizons), Dış Politikamız (Our Foreign Policy) and Kıbrıs (Cyprus).  
çılık Olayı, Türkiye'nin Mes\*leleri, Yeni Ufuklara Doğru, Dış Politikamız ve Kıbrıs.



## FOREWORD

*People find unity, health, and happiness in communities. A person who is self-sufficient and capable of self-reliance is the main condition for forming a community and constitutes the main condition for human dignity. For this reason, individuals strive to work for the good of society. For this reason, people have always sought their place in the society they live in.*

*The goal is to unite eight people under one roof. The principle of asceticism is based on the belief that human love and compassion for others, showing respect for human dignity, and demonstrating humility are paramount. For others, the interpretation of events and phenomena is the most important thing, and it is a very important thing to be able to understand them. Thinking big, aspiring to greatness, and striving for excellence are the honourable path that will lead to true fulfilment. The greatness of the noble is the greatness of the spirit, the greatness of love and respect for the truth. Knowledge is the light that illuminates humanity. The wealth of material possessions does not lead to the nobility of societies, but rather to the nobility of the soul.*

*Milliyetçi Hareket, Türk Milletinin içinde bulunduğu yoksulluk, geri kalmışlık ve zayıflıktan kısa zamanda sıyrılıp kalkınması için; Türk Milletine büyük ol-*

mnýt, biyyia düşüam i, trfiylik üLLü sa/ttbi olutnyt the manetii yiiceüği ötede} otarak, fare olarak ve meloö OfOTOk ÇÖSI OTTTi8ktedir.

*The successive waves of oppression, hardship and suffering have caused us to lose our way in this chaotic world. This has led to cultural and ideological attacks and spiritual invasions by those who are not our own, causing us to see ourselves as "real" or "authentic" behind a veil of "nLtldctL", to think small, to think small.*

*The ideology of the North Turk doctrine is the highest form of this. With its bir hüner saymak bataklığına yuvarlamıştır. Büyük düşünmek, millet olarak büyümeyi istemek ve yüceliğe ulaşmayı dilemek tehlikeli ve zararlı görülür olmuştur. İşte, yeni sömürgeciliğin «neo-kolonizm» gizli metodu budur. Sömürmek istediği, yıkmak istediği milletleri aşağılık görüşlere inandırmak kölelik zincirine vurmaktır. Türk milliyetçileri olarak Türk Milletini her çeşit kölelikten, esirlikten kurtarmak ve korumak mücadelesine, own will, it is impossible to achieve anything by waiting for others and*

*Türk Milleti için kurtuluş ve yükseliş çaresi, kendi dinî inançlarıyla, milliyetçilik ülküsüne sarılmaktır. Türk Milleti için kısa zamanda, kısa yoldan kurtuluş seeking refuge in them. Only the great Turkish doctrine Dokuz Eylül will make this possible.*

*Our goal is to be strong, powerful, and victorious.*

*İkiye'dir. Yenilmez ve başeğmez Türk milliyetçilerinin has been achieved at the end of the struggle, victory is assured, reJ ne biyyiiküL cord\*r. You are the ones who have made it possible &lt;logaealc I am looking forward to the days of victory.*

ALPARSLAN TÜRAEŞ

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NATIONALIST



## WHY GÜLLİYETÇİLİK?

### General overview

I want to talk about today and tomorrow without dwelling on the past years and months. Because the past is the seed of the future.

Today, the general outlook for Turkey can be summarised as follows:

Lips are cracked, stomachs are empty, villages are dark, are bare, poverty is rampant, the people are stuck in the past, and the future is hopeless.

The tricks, slander, lies and conspiracies of the politics we have witnessed so far are simple and vulgar, weakening the political movements of the Turkish people and shake their faith.

On one side, the well-fed people watching the land; on the other, the starving people tilling the land...

On one side, the ploughmen who till the soil of our beautiful homeland and sow seeds, the cowherds in our villages; on the other, the children of the country who follow the fashions of the day and fill the clubs to capacity.

On one side, those who, from the age of six, bear the burden of responsibility and share the noise of the engine in factories and the heat of the sun in the fields, practising social justice.

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on the one hand; on the other, a community that is unjust, unconscious, and soulless, preparing speeches on social justice in the shadows of tall apartment buildings and warm rooms...

On one side, the laughter rising from the annual billion-lira profits of the wealthy; on the other, villages parched from thirst, where people wait in shifts from morning to night for a single drop of water...

...

All these lines are not the work of three or five years, or three or five people. They are the burden carried by centuries upon centuries.

We see the main reason for this as Turkey's geopolitical power, its production value, and the Turkish people's moral and physical strength not being fully understood or recognised.

## Working for the people

Serving the people and loving, respecting and trusting them are the greatest virtues. For those in power to be from the people, to live like the people, to be among the people and to work for the people is the main way to solve the country's problems.

Since my childhood and youth, I have wondered why the Turkish nation, once powerful and prosperous, has fallen into such a state of backwardness, poverty and weakness. I would research how it might be possible for it to rise from this weak state, stand on its own two feet again, and become a prosperous, peaceful state without having to beg anyone for help. I would study other nations, especially advanced, modern countries, and



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I would struggle to find ways to enable us to catch up with them.  
There is a folk song that goes like this:

"A wolf has fallen upon me,  
A wolf has fallen upon me  
Day and night it devours me If I  
do not deserve this fate It will  
not accept me"

For years now, a wolf has been lurking within us... A wolf has been lurking within us, eager to make every effort to rapidly develop our nation and homeland by the most direct route. Now I am travelling around the country step by step. I am meeting and talking with all citizens. But why am I doing this? I am doing this to instil a burning desire in my nation and thus mobilise the entire nation to make great strides together.

Money is not everything. Some people stand in our way and put money first for everything. That is wrong. The nation is what matters, people are what matter. And it is people who must have faith, ideals, willpower and enthusiasm. A cause cannot be sustained and cannot succeed unless it is embraced by the people. The solution to our problems is to mobilise as a nation, united in the same understanding, and to activate our energy. This is achieved by explaining our cause and issues to the people, making them their own, and gaining their

## External enemies and Turkey

Today, your beloved homeland and great nation are under

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All eyes are on this beautiful country. Every nation from east to west harbours ambitions for this beautiful country. If there is a nation that does not have its eye on Turkey, it is not yet a nation.

In the outside world, in foreign countries, young people are raised with the saying, "Those who have not seen Istanbul cannot go to heaven." In contrast, my young people wander aimlessly in the streets and cafes.

There are reasons why I am laying these things before your eyes. In an era when other nations are being raised as wolves, raising generations as lambs is a crime, a folly, a betrayal. A statesman must recognise and understand his country's geopolitics, the productive power of its soil, and above all, the capabilities of the Turkish people, their true essence, the calloused hands that till the soil, the machines they operate, and their honourable foreheads raised to God.

I would like to state what needs to be done as a Turkish national for Turkey's development, advancement, and leap forward through the ages to attain atomic and missile capabilities.

The Turkish nation is a long-standing and honourable nation.

It has faced difficult situations from time to time, but it has known how to overcome them. The reason for the current adverse situation we find ourselves in is the misguided actions of incompetent and cowardly leaders over many years.

The rise of the Turkish nation must be seen in two elements. These are material and spiritual elements. Turkish pride and honour, Islamic morality and justice are the foundation of the nation's establishment and rise. This has been the case in the past, and it will be the case in the future.

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### LOOK AT THE HISTORY OF TYPES OF THOUGHT

#### Dominant Intellectual Currents

When we look at the history of Turkish intellectual movements, we see Islamism, the idea of the ummah, and, especially after the Tanzimat, the view of Ottomanism as a political ideology. After that, we see the ideas of Turkism, Pan-Turkism, and Turanism. Later, two main intellectual movements emerge in the field of the National Liberation War and its aftermath. One is Anatolianism, the other is Turkish nationalism.

#### Islamism

Islamism is a view that aims for the unity of all Muslim countries. One of the important reasons why this view was accepted in the Ottoman Empire was the significant role played by the Ottoman sultans, who were also Islamic Caliphs and held the title and duties of the Islamic Caliphate. However, over time, especially with the imperialist activities of the great empires of Western countries exerting their influence, this idea, this view, was undermined and weakened.

Despite being Muslim, the peoples of various Muslim countries were driven to wage wars and struggles against each other. The Ottoman Empire, despite being initially underestimated and despite the caliph having declared jihad, allied with Christian Western countries against other Muslim nations

and united against the Muslim Ottoman Empire;

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Turkish Nation.  
and d e s t r o y i t.

### Ottomanism

The idea of Ottomanism, however, became a more prominent intellectual movement after the proclamation of the Tanzimat. The view that the various nations within the borders of the Empire at that time should be united under the name "Ottoman," regardless of religion or ethnicity, and transformed into a single entity; - which, due to various events and the many conditions created by the times, - ultimately demonstrated that this idea was impossible and created the belief that it was not a viable concept.

### Nationalism

Turkish nationalism is a consciousness and sentiment born of the Turkish nation's own existence, its legitimate desire for defence, its legitimate sense of defence. The Turkish people, who bore the entire burden of the empire for centuries, were the most oppressed element within the empire. But they were also the most neglected element. And, as I mentioned a moment ago, Islamic unity, within the framework of Ottomanism, has done everything in its power to realise all these ideas. However, over time, I saw that Serbia was gaining independence on one side, Bulgaria on another, and Romania on yet another, even though they were Muslim.

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Arabs and other Muslim elements also say, "We are not Turks," and pursue independence. These steps have deeply instilled in the Turkish nation a sense of its own national identity, a desire to achieve national honour, and the idea and feeling of relying only on its own rights, its own kind, its own nation, of being together, of uniting; this is a legitimate sense of defence. Turkish nationalism has never been chauvinistic. It has never had anything to do with the idea or feeling of despising, destroying or oppressing another nation. If that were the case, the nations that remained under our rule and control for 500, 800, or 900 years would have been able to demonstrate a separate national identity and existence 500 or 900 years later, rather than having dissolved into our own.

Turkish nationalism, our understanding of nationalism, is based on spiritual awareness. On this foundation, anyone who has attained Turkish honour and sincerely says, "I am Turkish," is Turkish. Turkish nationalism and the definition of a Turk do not believe in deviant measures, especially sectarianism, regionalism, or laboratory racism. It is outside the ideal of Turkish nationalism to look down on other nations, endanger world peace. Anthropological racism is outside the ideal of Turkish nationalism. Our understanding of nationalism is spiritual, rational, democratic, and contemporary. We oppose Nazi Hitler racism, communist racism, and all forms of anti-democratic, anti-humanitarian Imperialist racism does not recognise the idea of the nation state. The Nationalist Movement believes in the idea of the nation state, defends the equality and independence of all states, and the right of every nation state to its own territory.

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respects the unity of the nation and the people.

Turkish nationalism is an expression of legitimate defence, high humanistic sentiments, and the Turkish nation's sense and will to defend and protect its natural rights.

The idea of Turkism also arose from this consciousness and this feeling. I can summarise and define Turkism as follows: "The organisation and implementation of the Turkish nation *in accordance with the principles of the Turkish nation, the Turkish people, and the Turkish state, in line with the principles of the Turkish nation, the Turkish people, and the Turkish state.*

*l<ilde düzenleinnnnması, yürütiitnmesi qöriışiidür."*

### Pan-Turkism and Turanism ideas

Before the First World War in Turkey The desire for separation among other Turkic peoples who had been subjected to oppression gave rise to the idea of uniting with other Turks who remained outside the Ottoman borders in Turkey and creating a unified entity with them. These ideas did not originate solely among Turks within the borders of Turkey but also among Turks living outside Turkey's borders, and they found each other. Ismail Gaspiralı in Crimea, in Kasan, in the homeland of BaşRurt, in Azerbaijan, in Turkistan, and others... Here and there, Turkish communities also established cultural ties with each other, which were the same but scattered in different parts, in order to free themselves from foreign domination. As a result, a Pan-Turkic political movement spread throughout our country at that time, reaching even the statesmen.

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The idea of 'Z'urancılık has found a wider field. The Hungarians, the religions, the Mişer'ler living in Poland, that is, many Turanian-origin peoples, were the first to put forward this idea. The goal pursued by the Hungarians in putting forward such an idea was, in particular, o g >s>n they found themselves squeezed between Slavic and Germanic pressure. Believing that their origins were Turanian, that they were from the Turanian tribe, they put forward such an idea. The idea that all Turanian peoples, the Ravims, should unite—an idea that has not found much support in Turkey—is ultimately an idea that has found its place in scholarly books.

### The idea of Turkish unity

The idea that emerged from the main camp in Turkey and became established as a political view among statesmen was the idea of Turkish Unity. The exemplary figure who sought to put this into action was Enver Pasha. Of course, due to the circumstances and conditions at the time, this idea could not be realised. It did not come to fruition. At the end of the First World War, Turkey suffered great losses and devastation, causing the Ottoman Empire to emerge from the war exhausted and weakened. The reason I mention these is that those who shaped Turkey's foreign policy, the foreign policy of the Republic of Turkey, drew lessons from all these past Turkish intellectual movements and sought to guide Turkey's foreign policy accordingly.

## NATIONALISM

### Turkishness and Anatolianism

After the War of Independence, the two views known as Turkism and Anatolianism

have occasionally been the subject of debate among intellectuals. Those who advocate Anatolianism argue that the people who came to Turkey after the Battle of Malazgirt in 1071

and that after settling there, they assimilated and integrated with the people living in Anatolia by converting them to Islam, thereby creating a new entity, a new body, and assimilating with the people living in Anatolia, thereby creating a new entity, a new body here; therefore, they held the view that there were differences between Turkish history before this and Turkish history after this.

Turkish nationalism, on the other hand, is concerned with the existence, future, and destiny of the people within the borders of Turkey as established by the Treaty of Lausanne, and to be concerned with the existence, future, and destiny of the people within those borders, to ensure their protection and advancement, and to not concern oneself with Turks outside those borders, to wish that they resolve their own destinies, and to merely harbour good wishes for them.



## NATIONALIST STRUGGLE

We nationalists are perhaps engaged in an unprecedented struggle for the first time in history. Our struggle is to achieve the best, the truest and the most beautiful for the Great Turkish Nation, whatever the cost.

At first, we may find few comrades-in-arms well equipped with ideals, convictions, and courage for our struggle. But what matters is not quantity, i.e. numbers, but quality, i.e. action, movement. Our supporters are the young at heart and mind, the mature and intelligent young men and women, the life force of the invincible Turkish state, and the guarantee and future of the Turkish nation.

I do not believe that those whose sole purpose in life is to maintain the status quo will join us. Rather than traitors and those with evil hearts, it is the mentally lazy and those who benefit from the preservation of the current order who will oppose us most. They are mistaken. The fact that the struggle appears hopeless only increases the magnitude and nobility of the task we have undertaken.

We pledge to our beloved nation a prosperous, strong and great

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and we dedicate ourselves to the nation. We are setting our sights on the path of Turkishness.

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### National goals

Since the earliest days of history, there has been constant struggle and competition between nations. Every nation strives relentlessly to elevate its own existence and dominate other societies. To be unaware of this struggle between nations is to ignore the harsh realities of life. Even in our era, where civilisation and technology are claimed to have advanced greatly, the struggle for supremacy, power and prosperity among nations continues with all its intensity. "Justice is the right of the strong..." has been the only principle governing international relations since the dawn of the world. Despite the Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Charter, the heavy attacks and atrocities suffered by Palestine in December 1971 have painfully demonstrated this once again. The events that befell Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Hungary in 1956 are vivid evidence of the harsh realities we face. Societies deprived of the consciousness of struggle between nations fall under the yoke of others. Bearing these realities in mind,

I must know how to protect the rights of the Turkish nation and always be strong and to find the way to be strong and powerful.

People on earth, in the form of national communities

## FUNDAMENTAL VIEWS

Each nation has its own characteristics and way of life. As a result of the activities of these diverse communities, various cultures and civilisations that enrich the world have emerged. It is very dangerous for one society to blindly imitate other societies. It is essential for every nation to have its own spiritual beliefs, customs, national culture, and national worldview. If these are absent, and-

If they are destroyed on the grounds that they are outdated and not replaced with new ones, that society will fall into a dangerous void of faith and ideas. Before nations are destroyed by foreign armies and other material forces, they are first subjugated by spiritual and intellectual forces.

The enslavement and destruction of a society that falls into such a situation becomes inevitable. The fundamental principles that constitute the source of strength for nations and societies can be summarised as follows:

- 1 — Possession of a strong spiritual faith and high moral character
- 2 — A strong national consciousness and spirit of nationalism
- 3 — Achieving the highest level in science and technology.
- 4 — To be able to produce modern, mass-produced goods in industry and agriculture.

At first glance, these principles may seem simple, but they point to the only viable path for nations to become powerful and achieve prosperity and happiness. For over two hundred years, instead of focusing on these fundamental issues, the Turkish nation has been preoccupied with

has been caught up in trivial disputes over imitation and formalism, which have no real connection to genuine progress. For Turkish intellectuals and Turkish leaders, the idea of seeking refuge in Western countries

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has been adopted as an ideal. For the Turkish Nation, nothing more disastrous than this can be imagined. To adopt the developments seen in the West, but to abandon the national culture and the idea of creating our civilisation and not being a refuge for others should have been the path we embraced. Although efforts to modernise have been made since the time of Selim III, to this day no result has been achieved

. On the contrary, due to sterile disputes that do not address the fundamental social and economic issues of the Turkish nation, we continue to suffer disasters and destruction. Our nation needs an unshakeable order based on a solid foundation of justice and diligent work.

Turkey's rise cannot be achieved with ideas imported from abroad. No foreigner can think about the interests of the Turkish nation as much as the Turkish nation itself. Today, the Turkish nation is being targeted for destruction with the ideas of communism, fascism or capitalism imported from abroad. Turkish youth must rise up against the foreign ideas that have been introduced into our homeland, not for the benefit of the Turkish nation, but for the benefit of others.

The solution to our problems lies in turning inward, joining hands in unwavering unity, and embarking on relentless work day and night.

We, as the Turkish nation, must stand up against the treacherous activities that target the integrity of our land and the indivisibility of our state and nation. For the youth of our nation, nationalism and Turkishness are prerequisites for national duty. A new great war awaits our homeland. We must not succumb to defeatism, laziness,

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

immorality, ignorance, and deceit... A relentless war against communism, regionalism, sectarianism, and all other forms of separatism that deny Turkishness and oppose the unity and integrity of the Turkish nation...

That is why we launched the nationalist movement.

The Nationalist Movement, by blending nationalism and progress, envisions the Turkish Nation's rebirth towards new horizons. Gsyemis aims to transform the Turkish Nation, through humane and scientific methods, into a strong, prosperous, and happy society that can stand on its own feet, possessing its rights and honour, and to bring it to the forefront of modern nations.

The ways to achieve this goal are to awaken the Turkish Nation, to give it new vitality and momentum, and to inspire it to work and take action by instilling in it a new philosophy of life based on national history and Turkish honour, guided by modern science and high moral standards. Our citizens. It is to achieve the magical transformation by explaining the dangers we face both internally and externally and by instilling in the people the cause of our country's liberation and rise. The other path to achieving this goal

is to train enlightened individuals who will lead the nation, filling them with love for the people, distancing them from selfishness, enabling them to live alongside the people and work for the people, and thus uniting the people with the enlightened.

For the Turkish Nation, one of the most honourable and greatest members of the family of nations living on Earth, to survive, rise, become strong and happy, it is necessary to embark on a new struggle.

## NATIONALISM

This struggle will be a struggle to establish complete justice and rights among our citizens, free from blemish and shadow. This war will be a war to eliminate backwardness, ignorance, and poverty. This war will be a war to free ourselves from being the playthings of others, from being exploited by others, from

begging for help from others. This war will be a war to break the chains of economic, social, political, and spiritual bondage that surround us. It will be a war to free ourselves from all kinds of prejudice and preconceived notions, to embrace human love and

humanity.

It will be a noble act of defiance, based on deep respect for dignity, refusing to bow to injustice under any circumstances.

We will develop a movement to become the bearer of an honourable flag that accepts neither servitude nor the use of others as servants within the human family. We will propel the Turkish nation forward through the ages, enabling it to attain excellence in science, technology, and high moral values.

We will fight the battle of karma to the highest degree. There are those who do not understand us, who do not wish to understand us, and there always will be. Souls who are slaves to their selfishness and interests within their narrow worlds will continue to be hostile towards us. It is normal for those who are jealous, deceitful, dishonest, and lowly, who are nourished by the filth of, to carry out all kinds of activities against us, and they will continue to do so. Nationalist Movement (s)Dokuz Işıkçı'lar, Ülkücü'ler We will work to liberate, improve, and awaken those who are on such a wrong path, without disgust, revulsion, fear, or hesitation, keeping our dignity and faith fresh. As Turkish Nationalists and Idealists, we believe that the Turkish nation is the most beautiful,

## BASIC VIEWS

To achieve the best and the highest, we must overcome every obstacle and move forward without hesitation, as demonstrated by . We have no extra resources to spare in reaching our goal, as highlighted by and . We cannot forget that a nation that has stood on the richest lands in the world, in the most important region, and has led the most glorious armies in history cannot be left to its own devices in a state of poverty, backwardness, disorganisation, neglect, misery and disarray.

We must act, join hands, and stand shoulder to shoulder. We must not believe those who speak of obstacles. Impossibility and obstacles are enemies that people have always been able to overcome.

A new Turkish miracle must be born... It will be born.

Perhaps tomorrow, perhaps even sooner.

### The sacred sources of strength of the Turkish nation

The idea of preserving, exalting, and immortalising the existence of the Turkish nation must take precedence over every other cause and stand before every other action.

Every event occurring both within and outside Turkey should be examined and evaluated in light of the aforementioned concept. The most sacred source of power that will ensure the advancement of the Turkish nation is nationalism and Turkishness.

### Nationalism

Nationalism is loving one's nation, the Turkish homeland, and the Turkish state, and striving for their well-being. •

## MİLLİYETÇİLİK

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Turkishness, on the other hand, means desiring and ensuring that everything in culture, science and technology, politics, economics and trade is specific to and appropriate for Turks.

It is a view expressed by the principle "*Turkish* for everything, *Turkish* for everyone".

It is a sacred duty of Turkish nationalism to care for other Turks living outside Turkey's current borders and to strive to do everything possible for their welfare, salvation and safety. However, no Turk should ever forget that there is a prerequisite for fulfilling this duty. This is the condition that any aid and services provided to Turks outside Turkey must be done without causing any harm to the Republic of Turkey. Protecting the Republic of Turkey, the sole independent state of the Turks and the foundation of the Turkish ideal, from all kinds of harm and danger is a fundamental principle of Turkish Nationalism. At the same time, we must always keep the Turks of Eastern and Western Turkistan, Azerbaijan, Crimea, Kirkuk, Cyprus, Western Thrace and other places in our hearts and maintain close ties with them in every way, keeping our arms open to those who come to Turkey from those places.

### İslam

Another blessed source of strength for the Turkish nation is that almost all Turks have accepted for a thousand years



## **BASIC PRINCIPLES**

It is the Islamic religion they have embraced. Addressing Islam with its true face and high principles, which guide the philosophy of life and moral views of the individuals who constitute our nation, will give Turkishness new vigour and momentum. Viewing Turkishness and Islam as separate entities, let alone as two opposing or hostile entities, is detrimental to Turkish nationalism and Islam. Today, some people in our country who oppose Turkishness or attempt to deny it claim that everything is about religion. Such people are either prisoners of ignorance and negligence or servants of evil intentions seeking to destroy the Turkish nation.

### **Unity and solidarity**

, another of the Turkish nation's noble ideals, is unity, solidarity and the ideal of internal peace.

It is an indisputable fact that a nation unable to preserve its unity and solidarity will inevitably collapse. Today, the fathers of division and destruction are shown to be collaborating to undermine and destroy our nation.

Regionalism, sectarianism

, sectarianism, and communism are very dangerous movements that hinder national unity. Within the borders of Turkey,

There are very few non-Turkish people. Despite this fact, divisions and insidious minority racism are being perpetrated under the pretext of language and dialect differences. Just as Turkish nationalism is the enemy of any movement that disrupts unity, it is also opposed to all forms of minority racism. Opposing harmful minority racism is one of the most important duties.

## MİLLİYETÇİLİK

is one of the most important duties.

The Turkish Nation has always had a superior place and duty in human history and civilised life.

The Turkish Nation has never been interested in a life of isolation, cut off from the unity of the world and humanity, but has continued for centuries to build a universal life across continents for centuries, establishing "World Empires".

A dense civilisation has been established and carried forward, and the concepts of rights, justice and order, together with organisational supremacy, have always given a positive direction to the lives of nations and humanity, ensuring happiness.

Today, the Turks are located in the region that formed the backbone of the ancient world, in the most dynamic era of international life and politics.

The setbacks and serious struggles experienced in the last century have not broken the great vitality and sovereignty of our nation.

### THIRD 'S PATH

The Turkish Nation must embark upon a new path and embrace a new destiny. This path will be the path of those who wish to make Turkey the most advanced country on earth in science, morality, technology and industry. For at least two hundred years, actions such as degeneration, abandoning national identity to seek refuge in others, imitating foreigners, aspiring to the superficial and crude appearance of the West, and attempting to copy systems born from the realities of other lands will be crushed and eradicated, never to be revived.

We, the junk dealers, are the arch-enemies of the **Turkish** nation, who dare to dress in the rags discarded by others, the shameless intellectuals who try to pass themselves off as gentlemen. By working day and night, sweating and toiling, we will produce our own intellectual works and, without uprooting the Turkish Nation, we will find enlightened individuals who will give wings to science and art and carry them through the ages. Throughout history, the Turkish nation has had a powerful and magnificent life. It is necessary to lift it out of its current state of decline and rapidly steer it towards the good.

To achieve this, we must not copy sadistic Slavic Marxism.

## NATIONALISM

There is no need to cling to Anglo-Saxon capitalism, whether hot or cold. We need another path, a third way. This third way must kick the utopia of establishing a dictatorship of the world proletariat into touch and instead focus on strengthening the entire Turkish nation. •s

national ideal. It must be a 100% local, 100% national doctrine that, by rejecting materialist, exploitative capitalism, must be replaced by a wholly indigenous, wholly national doctrine that will ensure social justice and the rapid development of the Turkish nation as a society. The spirit of this doctrine must be the principles of "*for the Turkish nation, towards Turkey, not towards any other nation*".

Today, the great difficulty encountered in moving the nation forward is the opportunism and corruption seen in the majority of the so-called enlightened class. However, the fact that courageous, faithful people who can tear through the shackles of the past can be found everywhere gives us hope for the future.

### The new path

I am hanging on to the path of truth, I am pointing to the new path that will save Turkey. I am unfurling the Nine Lights flag against all kinds of oppression, waving it proudly. Now, under this flag, I am calling upon the Turkish Nation ~~isn~~to work tirelessly, to sweat, without any personal gain,

I call upon warriors of virtue who, for the sake of the nation, the state, and the ideal, will never think of taking, but will dare to give constantly and give everything. I call upon warriors who will fight with dedication, free from the desire for fame and glory, and without fear of anything. I call upon the Turkish Nation ~~t~~o rise up and lead the way to new horizons under the guidance of science.



## BASIC PRINCIPLES

### Our identity, our history and our path

Türkc - In the days when the Islamic Seljuk civilisation was born, European universities were striving to parcel out and sell the paradise \*s. The valuable winds that blew across the Anatolian plateau and carried them westward. These rain-laden clouds cooled the arid lands of Europe, which had a low atmospheric pressure at the time, and gave life to the seeds in the soil. This is the Renaissance, the foundation of European civilisation. The contribution of the Turkish nation to this is an undeniable historical fact.

As in Seljuk civilisation, the philosophy of the Ottoman Empire's foundation and expansion was based on the virtues of the Turkish nation and the principles of Islam.

Alongside examples from past centuries, the spirit and movement of the National Forces, which began with the Rurtuluş War, has once again demonstrated that the movement born of the Turkish Nation affects the entire world and humanity. Today, Turkey possesses the same potential power and character in its land and people.

*This is not something that was born, it is not something that was created, it is not something that was invented, it is not something that **was made up**. Our **meeting** place is Great Turkey. Our meeting point is the mind of the Turk, the heart of the Turk, the essence of the Turk. At this place and point, we will unite, and we will definitely unite, not on minimal commonalities, but on essential commonalities. Because this is the general character of this meeting place and point. Those who do not know the Turkish Nation and do not understand this character are in a state of weakness, insecurity, and ignorance, accepting to unite on minimal common ground.*

Turkey's plan for liberation must be drawn up taking into account its material and spiritual strength, and its own realities must be considered. It must be

drawn up. Wherever it is taken from, we do not find it appropriate or suitable for our nation to order a model from other countries. It must be understood that every nation creates itself. Today, the Turkish nation, which is compelled to overcome mountains, the Turkish nation possesses this strength and determination. We have no doubt about this. The Turkish nation is not suffering from impossibilities, but rather from the pain of not being able to utilise its existing strength and

s

Today, while a new continent is emerging on one side of my world, characterised by internal, economic and political turmoil, on the other side, people steeped in the same culture are killing each other, and countries are burning and engulfed in flames. Those who incite and encourage such actions should not be spared from the fate that awaits them one day.

In our view, international relations should be governed by a sense and spirit of mutual benefit rather than exploitation and the desire to dominate. For mankind, the distance between where the sun rises and where it sets is no longer as great as it once was.

The Turkish nation, regardless of circumstances, has always been the true representative of its honourable history and noble deeds in every field. It cannot be praised enough for this character. The Turkish people are individuals raised within a philosophy of tolerance. They are generous-hearted, yet they do not harbour feelings of inferiority. Those who misunderstand or misjudge them on this point should take note.

## BASIC VIEWS

### The battle of ideas

An ideological battle is being waged throughout the world. A multitude of doctrines are clashing. In Turkey, capitalists and communists have recently entered into a conflict.

We saw this. The first was imported philosophy, both materialistic, both alien to the Turkish nation. In response to this, we emerged with a doctrine that was 100% local, 100% national, and 100% spiritual. We called this the "Nine Lights". As you know, the number "nine" has always been a sacred number for Turks. We also referred to this when putting forward our principles and presented a 100% national view. In this war of ideas and tactics being waged all over the world, we could only prevail with an idea that was suitable for our own national structure, higher and more advanced than the others. Dokuz Işık is beyond these materialistic ideas. The world's greatest weapon is thought. No action without thought can succeed. I give you this weapon. Understand the Dokuz Işık perspective. s şınıs. Gather around it like an iron ring and march towards the goal.

I am not promising you easy success. power with empty promises. Our path is long and arduous. Along this path, you will encounter tempting offers, threats, and a host of other obstacles. Those who can endure this journey, come with us. The brave, the determined, those who truly believe, join our caravan.

We are facing certain accusations. We are not racists. But wherever there is a Turk in this world, in this universe, Turkish person, to care for them and to love them.

## MILLİYETÇİLİK

I consider it my duty. I do not believe that the world, with millions of Turkish prisoners, will find peace in its current state. We are concerned with all Turks in this matter. However, I am establishing a principle here. While we are concerned with Turks outside Turkey, there must not be the slightest danger to Turkey. We say that everything must be conducted according to the United Nations Charter.

We have taken up this cause and are marching towards our goal. We are marching without wavering from our thoughts, without straying. I am running towards the goal with even greater determination than before. We have not been swayed by temporary fortunes or temptations. Those who believe do not lose. We are moving forward with this spirit and awareness. We look to the future with faith and confidence. We never doubted that we would reach our goal.

The great goal is the

Turkish Nation.

To democracy sold on the streets for the price of spinach, To a corrupt system of bribery, deceit, trampled and trampling rights  
to a freedom devoid of morality,

To a freedom devoid of morality,  
usury, and black market.

I call for Turkish honour and pride, Islamic morality and modesty, the fight against poverty, the pursuit of justice, unity, brotherhood, in short, the path of righteousness, the path of truth, the path of ALLAH. I call for the modern civilisation that is about to take the lead across the ages. I openly declare the name of the movement to those who ask:



## BASIC PRINCIPLES

A return to traditional values... Our goal is to make Turkey a country of free people and strong leadership. Those who accuse us of being compromising on this path are those who fail to understand the noble nature of the Turkish people. It should not be forgotten that when a farmer sows seeds in the soil, it does not mean he is compromising his land. It means he is valuing the soil and keeping it fertile. This is the spirit and essence of our movement. It should also not be forgotten that civilisations,

and states are not built with money, but with faith; they do not collapse from lack of money, but from lack of faith.

Türk intellectuals, Türk gens 'ği, meeting our place *Büyük Tüccar'ın*. The meeting point is the Turkish forehead, heart, and essential essence. As has been the case until now, do not limit yourselves to reading only the book he wrote, or listening only to what he said. You too should listen to what he said, read the book he read, and strive to know and understand him.

Then we will unite not on the basis of minimum common denominators, but on the basis of maximum common denominators.  
but in the common ground.

The view that considers the Turkish nation to be a step towards union and democracy to be merely a system of government is not our view.

Your ranks are the ranks formed by nationalists and patriots who think about the eternal life of the Turkish Nation and the Republic.

In the mountains and plains of Anatolia, the farmer and labourer, who roams and works with the patience of a prophet, enduring hardship and toil, is offering up all the children of the homeland to our spiritual atmosphere.

Our duty is: "Allah, I will carry it with ease."

## **NATIONALISM**

is not to mock or ridicule the beliefs of these people who work and walk with the conviction that "Allah will not burden me beyond what I can bear." It is to shoulder their burden, to fight those who steal their rights, those who lay hands on their livelihood and their labour.

This struggle will continue relentlessly both internally and externally, and we will surely succeed on this path with Allah's help. For our path is the path of truth and justice. In this country, the laboratories of technical universities and science faculties, as well as the corridors of higher theological academies, must be filled with life. Today, the dichotomy of "matter" and "spirit" is dragging humanity towards a dead end. Yet matter and spirit are neither separate from each other nor independent of each other. The path to true happiness for humanity and nations

must inevitably pass through the steps of science and spirituality.

The Turkish Nation has set many examples on this path and has led humanity.

Today, the seeds of happiness for our nation and for humanity are once again hidden in these lands.

Turkey and its people should be highly valued both internally and externally. A storm raging in the highlands subsides on its own shores. A storm that breaks out in Vietnam only lashes its own shores; even a storm in the Ilmoalars is confined to the Indian Ocean. However, a storm that breaks out on the Anatolian plateau can affect the whole world. This must be understood and appreciated.

### THE PRINCIPLES OF "NINE LIGHTS"

In order to protect the last independent Turkish state, we must unite around a NATIONAL VISION. This vision is the **NINE LIGHTS** doctrine. The **NINE LIGHTS** doctrine is a doctrine based on the Turkish nation, its history and culture, and belief in it. It has no connection whatsoever with national socialism.

The rapid industrialisation of Turkey is possible by leaping over the ages and bringing the Turkish nation into the atomic and space age. This depends, above all, on creating a cadre of world-class scientists and highly skilled technicians.

According to our belief, the development of Turkey cannot be achieved by imitating foreign doctrines and administrative systems created under the conditions of foreign countries. Neither capitalism and liberalism nor communism can be beneficial for Turkey. The only system and view that can develop Turkey is a national view that is appropriate to the characteristics of the Turkish Nation, takes into account the reality of the Muslim Turkish Nation, and accepts modern science and technology as a guiding principle.

## NATIONALISM

In short, the formula for this is the rational linking of Turkey's labour potential to its production factors, the state taking all measures to open up production channels for its citizens and providing them with facilities, and playing its essential role in increasing national income.

Here we are, a team claiming to be the owners of such a national doctrine. The name of our national view is the "Dokus Işılı Doctrine". This view is based on nine main principles. These principles are as follows

### Nationalism

which can be summarised as "everything is for the Turkish nation, with the Turkish nation, and according to the Turkish nation"; it is loyalty to the Turkish nation, love for it, and loyalty and service to the Turkish state.

### Idealism

It is the ideal of bringing the Turkish nation to the highest level of advancement, civilisation, and strength.

## Ahlâkçılık

It is based on principles that aim to preserve and develop the Turkish nation's spirit, traditions, *and* high status.

## 'FEMEL VIEWS

### Scientism

The principle is to examine events and existence with a scientific mindset, free from prejudice and ulterior motives, and to make science the guiding force in every possible activity.

### Socialism

It is the view that all kinds of activities should be carried out in a way that benefits society. It comprises two separate sections: social and economic . As an economic view, it accepts ownership as a fundamental principle but opposes the misuse of ownership for the benefit of the nation. It envisages a mixed economy and the state control of key strategic economic activities. As a social perspective, it accepts the principles of social justice, equality, social security and the establishment of social welfare organisations.

### Ruralism

It envisages developing villages by combining them into agricultural cooperatives. It aims to liberate villagers from the clutches of moneylenders and to provide them with the credit and other assistance they need through cooperatives. It particularly aims to rapidly and effectively integrate villagers living in forest areas.

## NATIONALISM

### Liberalism and individualism

The United Nations Charter aims to secure fundamental freedoms. It recognises the development of the individual as a useful path to the advancement of society.

### Progressivism and populism

People and civilisations always strive for and seek what is better, more advanced, and more perfect. It is the consciousness of not being satisfied with what has been achieved and always striving for more, and making an effort to attain it. However, this endeavour and these aspirations are rooted in the history, national identity and origins of the Turkish nation, and the goal is to rise and progress from there. We accept that in everything we do, being true to the people and working together with them is an indispensable principle of progress and advancement.

### Industrialism and Technicalism

's rapid industrialisation is essential for the development of the Turkish Nation. These are the basic principles of our Nine Lights ideology, summarised very briefly.

*Doınuz* İřti rejects capitalism and Marxist socialism, just as it rejects national socialism and fascism. National socialism and fascism are degenerate forms of capitalism and are reactionary dictatorships that do not believe in human rights and freedoms. DOĞUM İŐİK, however, believes in human

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

I hold a democratic view based on love and respect, seeking to realise economic freedom as a whole. I do not believe in deified fascist statism or idolised Nazi racism. Like those who have become famous, being fascist during a certain period of one's political career, capitalist during another, and socialist during yet another, has no place in our political ethics. We are Dokuz İşi s «is, in love with the Turks, in love with the Turkish nation, in love with Turkishness. Our aim is to defend the National Vision that will ensure the eternal independence of the Great Turkish Nation on this sacred homeland.

Nationalism, which stands at the forefront of the *nine principles*, is a broader concept than the principle of collectivism found among the other principles. Socialism is also included within the concept of nationalism. However, in order to clearly express our views on economic and social development, it has been deemed useful to express our thoughts under a separate principle of Socialism. By Socialism, we mean the existence of the nation, the interests of society, the individual...

We wish to point out that this is the case. Meanwhile, let us reiterate that *Dolcuz* has absolutely nothing in common with national socialism. National Socialism is based on capitalism, laboratory (anthropological) iris 8a and an anti-democratic political spirit, while *Dolma JştLçltlfG* believes in Turkish communitarianism, socio-psychological (spiritual) solidarity and true democracy. I do not believe in paths to power that bypass the will a n d preferences of the Turkish nation. Even after gaining power, I believe in the genuine functioning of democratic processes, this-

## MİLLİYETÇİLİK

We defend it. Those who constantly fear Turkish nationalism, internationalists who have never embraced the Turk, are always opposed to any nationalist view, . We must never forget this, not even for a moment.

Today, on the Anatolian plateau, the destiny of the entire Turkish nation is being shaped. In this regard, it is necessary to support deep-rooted moral values and Turkish nationalism both internally and externally. The Turkish nation, which established sixteen great empires and offers humanity an exemplary morality, possessing superior spiritual values and a rich country with few equals in the world, cannot remain economically backward. T o d a y 's

- There is a major accounting error in the current situation. No government in recent years has identified and addressed this error. The spirit of the revolutions enshrined in the constitution has always been confined to rhetoric, never reaching substance. Democracy has remained an abstract concept. Dem-

a-si human existence is an expression of love and respect for human will. Imitation and plagiarism, however, have damaged our national character. Instead of bringing science and technology from the world to our society, Turkish intellectuals have brought outdated and obsolete beliefs and habits.

Because the spirit of the National Forces, which saved the country, the state, and the life of the nation from great dangers, could not be transferred from the battlefield to the fields, from the fields to the laboratories, and to the areas of balanced economic development, the nation missed a great opportunity and lost a great deal of time.

Turkey's potential, primarily its human resources and human power, must be directed towards science, morality, and justice.



## BASIC PRINCIPLES

Consciousness must be mobilised. This movement must not be based on the fear and anxiety of becoming or ceasing to exist, but rather on the determination and resolve to become a great

should  
not be based on anxiety and fear of becoming or ceasing to be, but should arise from the determination and resolve to become a great state. The Turkish nation will undoubtedly achieve this goal and will once again fulfil its historical and spiritual duty to call humanity to righteousness, to prevent evil and to command goodness. History is full of evidence of this.

We must make these great strides for the rise of the Turkish Nation. We know that we face great difficulties and dangers on the path of serving the nation, great

difficulties and dangers we face in serving the nation; but these difficulties increase our determination and fighting spirit tenfold. Mu- We are confident that we will succeed.

"The runner will surely arrive, the fallen will rise, water will drip drop by drop from the black stone. It is one, then it becomes a silver lake. The seeker will find what they are looking for in the end."

The alternative to the ruling party : Nationalism

The only alternative to the ruling powers in Turkey is the Nationalist Movement and the ideology of Turkish Nationalism. Other alternatives have been tried to date, but none of them have been able to develop our country. I will build a Turkey that is strong and developed internally and whose voice will be heard by the family of nations externally. It is impossible to achieve this with outdated, foreign systems.

I would like to touch upon a point that you have repeatedly emphasised on every occasion. Today, the essence of the international struggle is constituted by national cultures and ideologies.

## NATIONALISM

History, which we perceive as a struggle between nations, has shown that every powerful and great nation seeks to establish supremacy over others. Every movement that crosses national borders seeks an international ideology for itself. For this reason, international ideologies today serve as tools of imperialism. Since we accept the world order in the form of a family of nations as a natural composition that will make humanity happy, we advocate the establishment of relations based on the principle of always respecting national differences

The ideologies seen in Turkey can be grouped into two main categories. These are ideologies of foreign origin and indigenous, national ideologies.

Foreign-sourced ideologies have never received any praise from us, nor will they ever. Because the essence of the ideologies in this group is internationalism character, **making them** tools of imperialism. As for ideologies that are foreign in origin but do not possess an international character, these too are dangerous because they make Turkish intellectual life dependent on and guided by external forces and prevent it from being connected to the historical realities and claims of the Turkish Nation.

Their presence in the life of our nation and state is highly dangerous.

In light of this brief explanation, all these ideologies, whether capitalist, Marxist, or Nazi-fascist, are harmful to the Turkish nation because they are foreign in origin. **The former** serve as tools for imperialism, the latter prevent the Turkish people from thinking for themselves, sever them from their national history and society, and push them towards division, fragmentation, and an adventurous direction.

## BASIC VIEWS

Principles. The Nationalist Movement Party draws its strength from the values it has carried forward from the history of the Turkish nation and its thousands of years of heritage; this sacred source is the foundation of its ideology. For this reason, the Nationalist Movement Party is the party of the indigenous and wholly national viewpoint.

## FOREIGN IDEOLOGIES NATIONALISM

The only powerful ideology capable of fighting foreign ideologies is the ideology of Turkish Nationalism. Unless the ideology of Turkish Nationalism is in power, it is impossible to see and solve problems. The antidote to all kinds of foreign ideological poisons that seek to divide and destroy our nation and our country is the ideology of Turkish Nationalism.

The Nationalist Movement believes in love for humanity and full democracy. We oppose any system or ideology that is hostile to humanity and divisive. Our aim is to embrace and love all our citizens living within our national borders, without discrimination, regardless of religion, sect or race, and to provide them with humane living conditions. We are the staunch enemy of all

We are the implacable enemy of all divisive, sectarian, and racist systems. We oppose class-based socialism, capitalism, and their deviations such as communism, fascism, and national socialism. These foreign ideologies, which are the product of the culture and history of other nations, have no place in the philosophy of the Turkish State.

## BASIC VIEWS

### Fascism, Nazism, and our nationalism

Turkish Nationalism is a sentiment and a movement that draws its strength from a deep love and faith in the Turkish Nation. It is a movement that aims for the Turkish Nation to live freely and independently and to rise to greatness. Turkish Nationalism is the name given to the Turkish Nation's ideal of liberation from all forms of bondage, a nation with thousands of years of glorious and honourable history. As Turkish Nationalists, we are endeavouring to transform our national goals into a political movement. Those who benefit from the Turkish Nation's current state of decline and those who wish to remove Turkey, the last bastion of Turkishness, from the stage of history are the mortal enemies of Turkish Nationalism. These are the Turks.

They attack it with various slanders in order to discredit nationalism and undermine the Nationalist Movement, which emerged as the political action of Turkish Nationalism. Every kind of slander and lie has been uttered against Turkish nationalism to date. Although many of these claims and accusations contradict each other, they have all been persistently used to deceive both the Turkish public and the world public. The communists, who are working to make Turkey a slave to red imperialism, are at the forefront of the enemies of Turkish nationalism.

They constantly repeat two slogans in Turkey. One is 'Nazism', the other is 'fascism'. They rise up at every opportunity. They raise a clamour, shouting 'Hand in hand against fascism' or 'Racists and skull-measurers are dividing the country'.

Thus, they appear to be individuals who strive to protect concepts such as humanism, democracy, and equality. The left-wing press, radio stations controlled by the left, and simple-minded intellectuals join the chorus, declaring themselves against fascism and Nazism. In this way, communism is sought to be legitimised and made acceptable.

Fascism is a system specific to Italy, a reaction against Marxists, established and led by a former Marxist. Nazism, on the other hand, is a political practice rooted in the European nations, based on the principles of the "superiority of the Aryan race" and "anti-Semitism," which have deep historical roots. The principles of "Aryan racial superiority" and "anti-Semitism" were turned into a political practice, a doctrine in line with Hitler's German spirit.

From a spiritual perspective, fascism is Catholic, Nazism is anti-clerical. They are based on religion. These are the order of other nations with their own importance and power. Fascism, up until the 9th century, changed hands through inheritance between Austria, France, and Spain, never entering into a state structure, and was conceived as principles aimed at uniting a nation and giving it an expansionist character.

Since the Germans became Europeans, they have established dominance over other nations and kept them under their rule ( ), yet they themselves only achieved the status of a single state and centralised authority at the end of the 19th century thanks to Bismarck. The view that the Germans should be accustomed to living in a state and that national unity should be achieved by propagating the idea that they have enemies both inside and outside the country was put forward by .

## BASIC VIEWS

The Nazis claim that all good things are done by the Germanic race, and that races other than the Germanic or mixed races are evil. They believe that Jews scattered throughout the world have ruined it, and to fix the world, they plan to exterminate the Jews, whom they consider the source of corruption, and enslave other inferior peoples to the Germans.

Anti-Semitism (hatred of Jews) is widespread throughout Europe and the Christian world. In the spirit of Christianity, which believes that Jesus is "the son of God and God" and considers Jesus' crucifixion by the Jews to be the greatest sin, the belief in punishing the perpetrators of this sin and taking revenge for Jesus has roots stretching back 2000 years. For this reason, all European states have at times carried out massacres of Jews and organised mass deportations. Hitler and the Nazi leadership, despite being anti-clerical themselves, exploited this sentiment as a rallying cry in their political movements.

It is evident that Nazism has historical roots in German society, just as fascism has in Italian society, and that these ideologies are consistent with the social psychology of these peoples. The Turks are the Middle Eastern people who achieved a single state and its implementation earliest. The nation has always been above issues such as nationalism, regionalism, tribalism, and sectarianism. Even when the Turks established empires in Asia, Europe, and Africa, the state was still considered a single entity, and the "Kaiakurum ban" in the east was considered the great khan of the entire Turkish world. Following Fatih's conquest of Istanbul, the great khanate moved westward.

The campaigns of the 16th century, Fizbek Hani Muham-

## NATIONALISM

The conflict between Shah Ismail and Sultan Selim I was essentially a struggle for supremacy between the Safavid throne and the Ottoman Empire. Contrary to what the press claimed, these wars were not based on Shiite-Sunni conflict, nor were they a matter of religious persecution. Shah Ismail's most powerful commander, Ustaşın Oğlu Mehmet Han Beğdili, was a Sunni Turkmen. The new soldiers in Yavuz's army were also Bek-

taşî. In fact, it has been suggested that Yavuz Selim was a Bektaşî based on the single Rüpe in his ear. Şaybak Han - Sultan Ahmet Tembel, who fought alongside Shah Ismail in the battle against Shah Ismail, was also a Sunni emir. Moreover, there were no (Persian) elements in Shah's army. In these battles, the term "Iran" only refers to a territory and a geography.

The concept of the state and national consciousness of such a strong and deeply rooted nation has never needed to invent external threats to inspire a sense of unity. For this reason, Turkish nationalism is neither aggressive nor defensive.

The principle of the Turkish State and the ideal of the Turkish Nation have manifested themselves in the establishment of universal peace and order.

A nation that strives for the ideals of order, justice and peace cannot, of course, behave hostile towards other peoples, religions and races, and it has not done so.

Genocide does not exist in Turkish history. Jews expelled from Spain, Poles fleeing persecution, and Russians (Malkans) persecuted for their religion sought refuge in the Ottoman Turkish state and were granted protection and justice. In a Turkish society shaped by such a history, it is unthinkable to exterminate people of other religions or ethnicities.



## TEMBL VIEWS

Therefore, a "Nazi" movement cannot arise from the Turkish nation. Even if five people who have copied the idea emerge, they will achieve nothing but ridicule. s

Turkish nationalism is a movement that has been taken from all kinds of imitation, is bound to the values of its own society, and develops those values. It has no need for imitation.

An Englishman who travelled among the Turks in the 18th century wrote:

"We actually share a common roof with the Turks, and what's more, our origins are intertwined, but they treated me so well that I was genuinely embarrassed. Everyone was smiling. Everyone wanted to show their friendship through their actions, but also by looking down on me a little."

This is the nature of the Turkish people: dignified, not selfish, not opportunistic, and not cowardly, therefore not cruel, aggressive, or violent. We do not see any possibility for fascism and Nazism to take root in our society.

Despite this, communists, centrists, and admirers of left-wing dictatorship continue to proclaim things that are not fascism, Nazism, or reactionaryism.

A number of narrow-minded administrators are showing their eagerness to create a climate of fear by embracing this clamour. Turkish Nationalists must not shy away from playing these games.

This accusation reached such a degree that the Communists accused the commanders of the State of Emergency, the former Prime Minister, the Chief of General Staff, and even the President of the Republic of the same crimes. Even a leading member of the centre-left party called another leading member reactionary. What is surprising is not these accusations, but *the fact that* those accused were

## NATIONALISM

and continue to level the same accusations at each other.

Thus, the centre of gravity of the forces engaged in the struggle against the left is shifting, the left is gaining a relative advantage , and this is the main goal pursued for the time being.

As Turkish nationalists, we will expose those who maliciously spread these lies and slanders, removing their masks to reveal their true faces to the Turkish nation. We will support the movement to free Turkishness from every kind of bondage and enable its rise. As in the past, we will bring about a Magical Turkey that ranks among the world's foremost nations in science, technology, civilisation, and prosperity in the shortest possible time.

### Nationalism against communism

Today, Turkey is under the influence of communist imperialism from the east and capitalist imperialism from the west. Of these two materialistic systems, communism holds a large part of the Turkish nation captive and has seized its lands. While the aims of this system, which has always been contrary to the Turkish people, and its main proponent in the world, Soviet Russia, in Turkey are well known, there are those in our country today who wish to show sympathy towards this northern enemy and defend its system. The Turkish nation has never been fixated on any particular ideology. Since embracing Islam, it has always fought against such systems and ideologies.

Today, communists are pitting our nation against each other.

## BASIC VIEW

sabası islerinde. We will not allow the divisive and Jesntçılınrın to turn our people against each other, to pit them against each other.

For a long time now, the broad atmosphere of freedom brought about by the constitution has been exploited for evil purposes. In particular, certain individuals belonging to the extreme wing have adopted an erroneous and unrealistic stance. Their divisive rhetoric and destructive propaganda are primarily aimed at the Turkish nation, the Turkish peasantry, and the Turkish worker. The favourable conditions of the country's current state of poverty and neglect embolden them. We know that Turkey is in a difficult economic situation. The people are poor, capital is ruthless and ignorant, and labour is suffering. Social justice has not been achieved. Poverty and ignorance go hand in hand. There is a deep chasm of mistrust between those who govern and those who are governed. As if this were not enough, opportunistic and ambitious politicians are forcibly driving the masses towards two opposing camps.

To escape this situation, even if we are in different parties and different camps, we must be united and take new measures to ensure that we live side by side and intertwined as citizens who love and respect each other. yer

Extremists say: "The system is broken; this system cannot achieve a modern level of civilisation; the only way forward is to establish a government dominated by the ruling elite..." But they do not say what this means or how it can be achieved.

They do not say. None of those who put forward this claim are Jio1, nor are they people who have grown up in the poor and destitute living conditions of our workers and peasants or who are willing to share the suffering of the people living in these areas. Most of them are from Istanbul and Ankara

## NATIONALISM

Those who never visit the poor neighbourhoods from their comfortable surroundings and whose monthly income is over ten thousand. exceeding ten thousand.

Every evening meeting places are the famous luxury hotels of Ankara and Istanbul. These people are always striving to be at the forefront of every fashionable and influential thought and even strive to be at the forefront of them. They always advocate extremism. Their aim is to undermine

normality and disrupt the order of things. They are fanatical to the extreme and have no tolerance for criticism. When faced with even the slightest criticism, instead of responding with ideas, they resort to slander and defamation in an effort to intimidate and silence thinking minds. They must be silenced, the educated, cultured and knowledgeable, thinking intellectuals should be silenced. For them, thinking minds are not important; manual labour is above everything else.

However, we claim that the stratification and class divisions that are necessary for civilised and professional division of labour and social life are an exploitation and domination. We maintain that all working people, whether manual labourers or intellectual labourers, have sacred rights that must be protected. We maintain that in the administration of the life of a nation and a state, and in the organisation of social activities and the regulation of social activities.

We maintain that the true voice and leadership should belong to the enlightened individuals of the nation. We assert that the claims of those who boast that 291 out of the 450 parliamentary seats are held by labourers are contrary to the interests of the country. Today, the number of labourers in the country is around two million. This is 1/15 of the total population.

## TBFIAL VIEWS

If it is desired that every class of people be represented in parliament, then ultimately there should be around 30 representatives of the working class. However, the claims and actions of the revolutionaries show that they want to place the country under the dictatorship of a single class, the uneducated labourers, who are not qualified to govern the state in terms of education and culture. I am opposed to this. The progress of our country depends, *first and foremost*, on the educated classes having a say.

In this regard, it is your foremost duty to fight against communism in our homeland. We will stand up to those who would drag the country down this path and their attitudes. Their lies and slander cannot intimidate us. We will resolutely overcome every obstacle on the path to raising the Turkish nation to a position of power, prosperity and civilisation.

### International communism and anarchist activities

International communism, in collusion with traitors within, seeks to destroy our independent Turkish State. These treacherous hands, which threaten our national and territorial integrity, must be crushed. To this end, it is imperative that all nationalist forces unite around a national cause. It is time to abandon inconsistent party interests, renounce Byzantine intrigues, and cling tightly to the ideal of Turkish Nationalism. The Turkish ideal, the consciousness of nationalism, must be an ideology that every institution applies and defends uncompromisingly.

The servants of the international communist movement, traitors, sold-out anarchists, the eternal homeland of the Turks this country divide-

## NATIONALIST

It seeks to divide, fragment, and turn the land into a communist territory. The country is not a simple piece of land, a soulless geographical entity. The country is the Sacred Homeland, created and entrusted by our ancestors to their children and grandchildren with their blood and souls, through the course of thousands of years of history. Our duty is to protect this heavenly homeland, to defend it, and when necessary, to sacrifice our lives for it. For, as the poet says, "Land is homeland if there are those who die for it" ( ). It must never be forgotten that the Turkish homeland is of geopolitical and geostrategic importance, coveted and sought to be divided by all kinds of external and internal imperialist forces. Considering the importance gained by the Middle East in international politics in recent years, the importance of the Turkish homeland in the National Pact becomes easier to understand.

Under the slogan "Fully Independent Turkey" the true intention of the anarchist communists is to separate Turkey from NATO and bind it to the Warsaw Pact . We respect the national and territorial integrity of every country . Despite our desire to establish good neighbourly relations with the Pact in every era, Russia has consistently set its sights on Anatolia, both during the Tsarist era and today under the communist ideology. History "The Testament of Peter the Great" will , clearly reveal Russia's ambition.

### **ni açıkça ortaya koymaktadır.**

The relevant sections of the aforementioned articles are as follows: Article 9 — "We must expand and advance as far as possible towards Istanbul and India. Whoever seizes these points will become the true ruler of the world. To this end, we must continuously

## FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

with Turkey and subsequently with Iran. ... Article: 11 — "We must draw Austria's attention to the expulsion of Turkey from Europe and eliminate its jealousy regarding the capture of Istanbul." Article: 13 — "When Is-  
ves falls into our hands and comes under Polish rule; *when* Iran disappears and *Turkey is occupied*, we must separately and secretly make offers to the Versailles Palace and then to the Vienna Palace to divide world domination..."

During the Tsarist era, Russia declared war on us thirteen times with the aim of establishing world domination, gaining access to warm seas and climates, and eliminating the Turks, who stood as a major obstacle to its ambitions with their country and nation. The goal of establishing world domination and eliminating Turkey was pursued by the Soviet governments after the 1917 communist revolution. In 1945, they demanded territory from our country (Mars, Ardahan, bases in the Marmara Strait) and also wanted a friendly and reliable government in Ankara. In order for the government in Ankara to be "friendly and reliable," it was said that it should be like the governments in Sofia, Prague, and Bucharest. This statement clearly reveals the ambitions of Soviet imperialism towards Turkey.

The last six months	in our country	very serious
	and shocking events have occurred.	On 12
March 1971		issued by the
Turkish Armed Forces	opened a new chapter in the life of the nation.	
Meanwhile,		many young
people and educated individuals who had drifted towards communism,		
regionalism, and separatism were arrested. Armed groups such as the " "		
were formed,		

## MİLLİYETÇİLİK

and partisan warfare commenced. Foreigners residing in our country were attacked in Kasırga and massacred. Some of those responsible for these acts, dev-

While resisting the forces with weapons,  
were shot and killed in the ensuing clash.

Many of the young people were arrested. It is clear that the path they had chosen was wrong and that it was harmful and destructive to the country •s>11. However, even if they were young ( ), they showed behaviour that showed they would not hesitate to sacrifice everything, including their lives, for the ideal they believed in. . What a great sorrow this is for our country and what a great loss for the Turkish nation.

Why have hundreds of young people and some of the educated elite of the Turkish nation been swept up in these destructive currents and movements that are harmful to the homeland... Why have these unfortunate children of our country fallen into the betrayal of dividing Turkey into separate small states according to regions? Why have these people, who studied for years at our universities, made statements such as "I am not Turkish, I am not Muslim, I do not recognise the existence of Turkey"?

These young people, who are the children of our country, had not fallen into these bad and wrong ideas while they were still in their family homes before coming to university. In fact, many of them were genuinely patriotic and nationalistic. The reason for their loss to the nation is the void of ideas and beliefs into which our country has fallen in recent years. People live with faith and ideals, they are happy and they rise. A person without faith and ideals finds themselves in a void and only...



## BASIC VIEWS

the influence of their instincts, and their actions and lives remain subject to chance.

The age we live in is, above all, an age of ideological and cultural warfare. Nations that do not pursue the path of developing their own national culture, and societies that do not define their own national ideals and raise their people with these ideals, become prisoners of foreign cultures and foreign ideologies.

For many years, our Turkey has been exposed to the assault and invasion of foreign ideologies and foreign cultures. In the age we live in, before the enemy comes with guns and cannons, they come with culture and ideology, with thought.

and is attempting to destroy our faith\*and our artistic world. Once it has succeeded in this, seizing control of the state and the nation by the enemy's armed forces will be a simple matter.

Since 1917, Russian imperialism has taken on a new guise and acquired a new, powerful, even formidable weapon. powerful, even formidable weapon. This weapon is the ideology of communism. Russian imperialism has skilfully used and continues to use this ideology to devour the nations and territories it wishes to exploit. with great skill.

Turkey is at the centre of the secret and open struggle between states. For this reason, it is the target of the most relentless attacks by foreign cultures and foreign ideologies. The aim is to destroy the Turkish nation.

Attacks f r o m foreign cultures and ideologies will not cease. They will mould me into shapes, apply new methods, bring forth entirely new people, and continue the war. To counter these and

rapidly strengthen the Turkish nation and the Turkish state

## NATIONALISM

a national ideology and a national culture must be established. Ideas, ideals and beliefs cannot be suppressed, prevented or defeated by force of arms, police power or brute force. Ideas, ideals and beliefs can only be defeated by superior ideas, ideals and beliefs that are more correct, more powerful

superior ideas, ideals, and beliefs.

For the Turkish nation, the strength to withstand all kinds of foreign ideological and cultural attacks is the ideology of Turkish nationalism.

When discussing attacks by foreign cultures and ideologies, it would be wrong to think only of communism. The rise of Turkishness in all areas and the Turkish nation as a united society with an independent personality

\*It is necessary to take into account any foreign cultural and ideological influences that hinder its development. It would be very wrong to adopt a reactionary stance aimed at protecting against destructive currents and divisive and divisive propaganda. It is the *duty* of the good. *Based on* TürlüL üt/ iü and Türlü mfttç/etçfğine

initt Ltittiir pettşmetern\*, pnbanc Ltiltür ze tdeoHji saldtnlortuo itorşt *is not* a *reactionary stance*, but rather a *strong, principled stance* that does not compromise on the fundamental principles of democracy.

# THE NINE-**IŞIK** E DOCTRINE



## NATIONALISM AND COMMUNALISM

The fundamental ideology of our age is the ideal of nationalism. The ideology that today encompasses Africa, South America, Asia, and even Europe is nationalism. The beginning of the Turkish Constitution In the preamble and several articles of the Constitution, Turkish Nationalism is emphasised.

Nationalism is considered the fundamental philosophy of the State. The ideal of nationalism is to unite with the Turkish nation and establish the great, powerful authority of the Turkish nation.

The Nationalist Ideal is the foundation of the State's fundamental philosophy. The Nationalism we advocate is Democratic Nationalism based on love for humanity. We are opposed to any system that rejects Democratic Nationalism. We vehemently reject foreign ideologies that divide the Turkish Nation into classes, sects, peoples or regions, or that seek to fragment the Turkish Nation under the slogan "Turkish People". We are the relentless enemies of totalitarian socialism, communism, exploitative capitalism, and all kinds of authoritarian systems. Our understanding of nationalism is based on spiritual awareness; everyone who has attained Turkish honour within our national borders and sincerely says, "I am Turkish," **is Turkish...** I do not believe in divisive elements in nationalism and Turkishness, anthropological racism, sectarianism, and imperialism.

I am opposed to Nazism, Roman Catholic populism, sectarianism, imperialism geography Rarşısındad. Mil-

Our party believes in the idea of the National State, respects the equality and independence of every national state, the unity of the country and the nation, and opposes all aggressive ideologies, socialist and capitalist imperialism.

### Democratic nationalism

Democratic nationalism is the ideal of national unity. This ideal embraces the nation as a whole. In this ideal, society is not divided into two classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, based on individuals' relationship to the means of production, as Marxist-socialists do. In Democratic Nationalism, there is no socialist class theory that is contrary to modern social sciences. We will destroy the mentality that seeks to establish a dictatorship over the Turkish working class, hiding behind slogans such as "The State of the Working Class", "The Rule of the Working Class" and "The Party of the Working Class", and that seeks to turn the Turkish working class into a means of exploitation for party members. Never forget the existence of states that, while proclaiming "working-class democracy," establish "dictatorship over the working class" and exploit the blood of the workers.

Like the socialist and communist systems, the fascist and capitalist systems are also systems that exploit workers' rights and suppress their political and democratic freedoms. In fascist and capitalist systems, the interests of a handful of bosses are protected. A large section of the nation is oppressed and humiliated for the sake of a handful of bosses. We will defend the sweat, rights and interests of Turkish workers to the end. We will not allow Turkish workers to be robbed by a handful of socialist-communist party members, a handful of bosses. The sacred rights of Turkish workers

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labour and sweat shall not be enslaved by socialist or capitalist property.

It defends the idea of national democracy and national property instead of a class-based society, and national property instead of class property. The day class property is abolished, class

The nation replaces societies. Therefore, the task at hand is to replace class with nation. The nation, as the owner of property, has the opportunity to participate equally in economic decision-making.

### Property - Democracy

When I say property, I am primarily referring to the ownership of the means of production. In the simplest sense, the means of production means factories, machinery, land, and

It means workplace. When you look at societies around the world today, you see that the means of production are owned by certain classes, thus encountering a new type of ownership called *class ownership*. In capitalist class society, a handful of bosses own the factories. Individuals and social groups outside the bosses have no connection with the ownership of the means of production. The communist class society stands in opposition to the capitalist class society. In socialist society, the owner of property is, theoretically, the working class. However, this is only in name. According to the constitutions of socialist countries themselves, the owner of property is the state. The worker has no connection whatsoever with the ownership of the means of production. The worker labours, produces, and the socialist state exploits him. The situation is illustrated by a simple example.

## THE NINETEEN-TWO DOCTRINE

If we take it into consideration, today the average wage in Soviet Russia is 1,000 lira per month. The average monthly contribution of each worker to the economy is 7,000 lira. The Communist Party gives only 1,000 lira of the 7,000 lira to the worker and seizes the remaining 6,000 lira. This example gives us the most typical example of socialist exploitation.

Your democratic nationalism is based on the principle of national democracy. Democracy, in its narrowest sense, means the sovereignty of the nation. Democracy is the participation of the nation in political and economic administration, the political and economic sovereignty belonging to the nation. In its broadest sense, *democracy* is the nation's self-governance in political and economic terms.

It can be defined as the ability to participate equally in the making of political and economic decisions. My understanding of National Democracy is divided into two parts: Political Democracy and Economic Democracy.

### Political democracy

Political democracy is a regime of political freedoms. Political democracy is the equal participation of all members of the nation in political *administration and* political decision-making. Citizens participate in political decision-making by electing and being elected to political bodies.

Democratic Nationalism believes in political democracy. To this end, in order for the nation to be fully represented politically, it is essential that the Parliament include representatives of the peasantry, i.şçi milletvekillerinin, esnaf milletvekillerin, memur milletvekillerin, işveren milletvekillerin, serbest meslek mensupları milletvekillerinin



## **CLEAR. DISCUSSIONS**

Thus, political democracy is separated from class democracies and removed from the rule and exploitation of the ruling class.

### **Economic democracy**

The existence of political democracy alone is not sufficient for economic democracy to exist. In order to speak of true democracy in a country, economic democracy, which complements political democracy, must also be established in that country. Economic democracy is the right of a nation to be free in economic matters, to participate equally in the economic decisions of the country.

. If, in a country, social groups are not equally and freely represented in economic decision-making and cannot vote, then there is no economic democracy in that country. The existence of economic democracy depends on the social groups that make up the nation owning the means of production and participating in profit, loss and management.

### **The struggle of nations and national doctrine**

History is a history of the struggle of nations. To achieve victory in this struggle, it is necessary to be a nation that is, in every respect, strong and well-equipped. Nations that fail to adapt their social, political, and economic structure to their national conditions are doomed to defeat in this struggle. Our great nation, which has been in existence for centuries, has always been a nation that has adapted its social, political, and economic structure to its national conditions.

nations that fail to adapt their social, political and economic structures to their national conditions are doomed to defeat in this struggle. For centuries, our great nation has been subjected to foreign regimes and ideologies. All national

## DOKUZIŞIK DOCTRINE

values are being targeted for destruction. The aim is to erase this nation, which is organisational and state-building, from the pages of history.

Our Turkey, our Great Nation, has become a breeding ground for jet ideologies. On one side, the imperialist aircraft of Western capitalism, on the other, those of Eastern communism, have entered a race to destroy this great nation. We will not give them the opportunity. We will not turn a blind eye to these nests of corruption and treason. The foundations of a nationalist Turkey have been laid; minds that are 100% Turkish in thought and ideology have joined the front. Turkey's most powerful minds are on our side. The most ambitious goals, the most dynamic ideology, and the most nationalist vision have been outlined.

The fundamental goals that will lead Nationalist Turkey to victory have been outlined in the Dokus Işık vision. The system that will realise these goals is Nationalist Socialism. Its ideology is the most dynamic ideology, Turkish nationalism.

The Turkish nation can only be victorious in the struggle of nations through the reorganisation of our State and Nation. In this reorganisation, the state will have a new structure. This structure has three main elements: social, political and economic.

## THE ORGANISATION OF THE NATION    SOCIAL

The social organisation of the Turkish Nation will be achieved by uniting the Six Social Classes in *the Social Life Centre*. Today, some of our farmers and craftsmen are partially insured against certain social risks. However, this organisation is incomplete and inadequate. For this reason, in the National Plan, the insurance and security of the Six Social Groups will be guaranteed

, thus establishing Peasant Insurance, similar to Workers' Insurance. Tradesmen's Insurance, Civil Servants' Insurance, Employers' Insurance and Self-Employed Persons' Insurance are established. These insurances will cover social risks and occupational hazards, and every citizen health insurance, sickness insurance, old-age insurance, maternity insurance, unemployment insurance, and disability insurance. This system will ensure that every Turkish citizen is secure in the knowledge that they will be supported and integrated in times of need. With the establishment of social insurance and security institutions based on the six social sciences, new social savings institutions will also emerge in our country. The premiums that insured persons will pay to these institutions will amount to billions each year. These savings will also make new investments possible. However, will be paid

## NINE FOR THE DOCTRINE

Premiums will be based on a different understanding than today. The financial resources of the organisations will require, in addition to the premiums paid by insurance members, a large financial contribution from the state. Since social security is the most important social policy measure, the state's failure to assist in this area is contrary to the nature of a national social state. These organisations, which will have strong financial resources, will establish large hospitals and health facilities in every corner of the country, where all citizens will receive treatment free of charge. This will result in the nationalisation of health services, and every Turkish citizen, from seven to seventy, male, female, or child, will be insured.

### The Nine Lights social structure

The systems existing in the world are based on one of the following three fundamental social values: the individual, the class, and the nation. The foundation of states with a capitalist liberal structure is the individual. However, this does not apply to all individuals, but only to a few employers and capital-owning individuals. Since these are employers and capital-owning individuals, and since this system is based on them, a false individualism has been put forward solely for the purpose of protecting them.

The communist system is based on class. This class is supposedly a working class. However, in practice, it is not the working class that is dominant, but rather a member of the communist party. The proletariat is oppressed and despised at least as much as in the capitalist system. The system of the Nine Lights Doctrine In the Nationalist-Collectivist system, the fundamental value is the Nation. Here

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

neither a class of employers nor a so-called working class is mentioned. Because the nation is a unity of history, culture and lineage. Its division into classes, the abandonment of certain individuals to domination

We take all members of the Turkish nation as our basis. However, these members are divided into six social strata in socio-economic terms. This is a feature of the Turkish nation. It is not the product or utopia of ideologies originating from outside

The *six* social strata in question are workers, peasants, tradesmen, civil servants, freelancers and employers. The social structure of the Turkish nation is made up of these strata. For this reason, we must adapt our moral, political and economic development to these national realities. Otherwise, we will remain stagnant, as we have been for two hundred years.

### National Integration

In all its actions, movements, and thoughts, the Nationalist Movement takes a single principle, a single social value, as its basis. This value is the Turkish Nation. In this sense, our party is always opposed to individualistic and class systems.

The realisation of our fundamental philosophy of national sovereignty depends on the integration of the individuals and social strata that make up the nation and their participation in decisions that concern them. In a nutshell, our ideal is the ideal of national integration. National integration is the political, economic and cultural unity of the people living in a country, within the consciousness of belonging to the same nation.

## DOKUZIŞIK DOCTRINE

and their unification and integration from a cultural perspective. In the national integration movement, the idea of unification rather than fragmentation, and integration rather than differentiation, prevails. Atatürk sought to describe national integration with the phrase, "a classless, privilege-free, integrated nation." National integration occurs with the emergence of national consciousness, the belief of belonging to a particular nation. In societies where the individuals and social strata that make up the nation are largely differentiated politically, economically, and culturally, national integration cannot be discussed.

### The reality of social strata

The nation is not an abstract concept, but a sociological whole. When viewed from this perspective, the nation is a whole, there are various social segments that constitute the nation is composed of various social strata. These strata can be divided socio-economically into the bourgeoisie, peasants, artisans, civil servants, employers, and the self-employed. The realisation of national unity and national sovereignty requires that all these social segments to participate in political, economic and cultural decisions that affect their own destinies and having a say in these matters. In a system where each social stratum does not have the opportunity to participate in decisions that concern it, national integration and national sovereignty cannot exist. In such a system, only a certain class or stratum dominates. Capitalist and Marxist systems are class-based systems. In these systems, only a handful of employers or Communist Party dictators participate in political, economic and cultural decision-making. a handful of employers or Communist Party dictators. Integration can only be achieved through participation in decision-making. Participation means that social segments can independently

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

This necessitates the establishment of organisations. Each social stratum finds the opportunity to participate effectively in the decisions taken within its own organisation and through it. Unorganised social strata cannot express their grievances. This, in turn, prevents them from participating in matters that concern them and consequently being subject to the dictates of another class or stratum. Here, it is no longer possible to speak of unity, but only of division.

### The Dokuz Işıkcı political structure

Milliyet's political structure is based on the spirit of the national state. In the national state, every Turk participates directly in the executive, legislative, and judicial organs that constitute the state. Throughout Turkish history, the state has been a symbol of power and authority. The state is an iron fist in a velvet glove. Every Turk should have confidence in and love for their state. A strong, powerful state is sustained by a dignified, resolute Head of State. For this reason, we will introduce a presidential system, because a courageous, fair and knowledgeable president is the first requirement for a strong state structure.

The Assembly shall be the assembly of national democracy. A national parliament can only be national when it represents the entire

Turkish nation across all social strata. To this end, we will establish a parliament composed of members of parliament from all social strata, in accordance with the social structure of our nation.

This means that in the Assembly, there will be a similar number of representatives from the working class, peasants, craftsmen, civil servants, members of the liberal professions, and employers.

## DOKUZ IŞIK DOKTRİNİ

The representatives will be found. Thus, as in Marxist democracies, it will not be a parliament composed solely of bureaucratic Communist Party members who are merely the representatives of the working class in name, nor will it be a parliament composed of representatives of the wealthy classes who are dominant in the liberal capitalist system. A fully-fledged and robust People's Assembly will be established. This Assembly will be single-chambered. The Senate, a remnant of Europe's monarchical regimes, will be abolished. The single-chambered national assembly will not only be national, but will also be an assembly of experts. An assembly will emerge that can resolve the issues of every social stratum, without one social stratum dominating another.

### The political organisation of the nation

According to capitalism, the nation consists solely of the bourgeoisie. However, as explained above, the nation encompasses five social strata beyond the bourgeoisie (capitalist) class. Therefore, according to capitalist political theory, political democracy is not national democracy, but merely class democracy. Marxist political theory is also based on a false working class, so in this system too, the parliament consists only of members of the Communist Party. Consequently, here too, instead of national democracy, we have the dictatorship of the Communist Party.

Democratic Nationalism views the nation as a whole composed of six social strata. Accordingly, it envisages the representation of these six social strata in the National Assembly. Here, the parliament is neither solely the organ of the capitalist class nor solely the organ of the so-called 'working class'.



## BASIC PRINCIPLES

Parliament is the organ of the entire nation. Therefore, in order to achieve political democracy and integration, democratic nationalism **requires the participation of** a certain number of workers' representatives, peasant representatives, flexible **national representatives**, civil servant representatives, and free trade union representatives **in** our **parliament**. *The assembly of six social classes*, with two representatives from each class, will be formed, and the political system will be realised. *ç/emo*Lrosi will be **realised**.

### Nine Lights economic structure

The economic structure will be nationalised. In a capitalist economy, economic balances serve and belong to the capitalist. The other major component of the national community is propertyless and ownerless. In the communist system, the entire nation is enslaved and exploited, and the economy is left to the whims and interests of the communist party. In the economic system of the Nine Lights ideology, however, the economy will be nationalised. Our national capital and wealth will belong to all members of the Turkish nation.

In the struggle of nations, in order to avoid being erased from the stage of history, it is necessary to develop rapidly and become a society with heavy industry. Development consists of two movements. The first is saving, the second is investment. Therefore, we will first save, then invest these savings in factories that build heavy industry. To achieve this movement, our model is the Dokuz

. In this model, we will organise our nation into six social segments. into six social segments. The first organisation is legal organisation.

## The economic organisation of the nation

The economic organisation of the Turkish nation shall be carried out in accordance with the principles of economic solidarity and economic integration. Capitalist and Marxist economic systems divide society into two classes: the capitalist and the working class, based on economic income sources. into two classes: the capitalist and the working class. These systems are outdated, harmful, and divisive, just as they are scientifically flawed today. and divisive systems. Modern sociology, law and economics analyse societies according to the social status of individuals. According to this analysis, the society known as the nation, in its broadest sense, consists of peasants, workers, tradesmen, civil servants, employers and members of the liberal professions. . In modern sociology, the two-class system has been replaced by six social strata.

Economic democracy is the participation of the social strata that make up the nation in economic decisions. If the six social strata in a country cannot participate in the process of production and income distribution, then there is no economic democracy in that country. The ability of the six social strata to participate in production and income distribution depends on their joint ownership of the means of production. Today, in our country, these six social strata that make up the Turkish nation do not have ownership of the means of production. there is no economic democracy in Turkey.

. In order to establish national and economic unity, we must make our six social strata—our peasants, workers, tradesmen, civil servants, employers, and members of the liberal professions—co-owners of the means of production. To this end, the principles of the economic policy we will pursue are as follows:

### Economic development - Economic democracy

There is a direct relationship between economic development and social justice. Thousands of production facilities and factories will be built in Turkey as it develops. The products manufactured by these factories will be sold, and the resulting income will be distributed fairly among the people.

Development consists of two elements, which I call "savings and investment". Savings are the increase in income that is not consumed. If this increased income is invested in factories, capital accumulation and development will be achieved. The Nationalist Movement's savings and investment policy will be achieved with the participation of six social sciences. A portion of the income of the legally organised peasants, workers, tradesmen, civil servants, employers and members of the liberal professions will be set aside for savings. Let us illustrate this with an example      ntılatalın:

For example, the Trade Unions will save 50 lira per month from each of our one million workers, and each worker's annual savings will amount to 600 lira. The savings from two million workers will amount to one billion, one hundred million lira per year. This is the savings side of the equation. The basis of our investment policy is to build factories that build factories. A factory that builds factories produces more factories. This is what our country needs today. However, there are no factories that build factories in our country yet. With the economic policies implemented by various governments, it will not be possible for this to happen for many more years.

The cost of a factory-building factory is at least six billion lira, and building it again is at least five times that amount.

It takes a year. Now, if we save one billion two hundred million lira a year from our workers, that makes six billion lira in five years. This means that with our savings, we can build a factory in five years. If we apply the same savings and investment practices to our peasants, artisans, civil servants, employers, and self-employed workers, our country will acquire major industrial establishments and will be economically developed.

Who will own these factories? In capitalist and Marxist economies, the same savings are made by the workers, but the owner of the factories is either a capitalist boss or a communist state. This is the most typical example of social injustice, the exploitation of man by man or by the state. In Turkish National Democracy, since the exploitation of individuals and classes by the state will be eliminated, the owners of *these* factories will be all **members of society**: *peasants, workers, tradesmen, civil servants, and the self-employed*. For example, in the above example, since each of our workers will save an average of three thousand liras in five years, each worker will become a partner in the factory's ownership in proportion to this amount, thus nationalising the Turkish economy. In the national system, everyone will be given their rights under the rule of law.

### The realisation of social justice

When the six social strata become owners of the factories, they will also participate in the ownership of the means of production, the profits, and the management of the workplace, thus becoming partners. Ultimately, this will ensure and realise a fully-fledged *social* economy. Returning to the example above

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

each worker will receive income proportional to their share of the factory's profits at the end of each year. Thus, each worker will be both the owner and the employee of the workplace; in addition to their monthly salary, they will receive a share of the factory's profits as additional income. In such an economic system, the distribution of income will also be fair. The lower social strata that make up the nation will participate equally in the management, as well as in the ownership and capital of the factories.

This system will ensure the economic integration of the Turkish nation. Our farmers and villagers in Edirne will be partners in factories in Hakkari or Kars, and a villager or tradesman in Hakkari will be a partner in a factory in Edirne. Thus, all our citizens will look upon every corner of our beloved homeland with economic interest, and the national wealth will be shared by all our citizens. Any traitor who attempts to destroy the national wealth will find the entire Turkish nation against them.

### The new sector - the People's sector

The ownership of the means of production by the six social strata will give rise to a new sector in our economy. *This is the national sector.* The Turkish economy will be based on a *new economic order centred on the domestic sector.* These sectors *are* the state sector, the *private* sector, and *the cooperative sector.* On this occasion, let us emphasise that the nationalist order is not hostile to the private sector. However, the private sector, in its current unregulated state

## DOKUZİŞİK DOCTRINE

and become more efficient in terms of national interests and goals.

The state sector will also be restructured. Instead of the outdated, obsolete state sector that burdens the economy and national development, a contemporary, modern state sector oriented towards national strategic objectives will be established. Under this system, the state will provide economic services such as heavy defence industry, infrastructure services, and mining industry.

Banking, insurance, domestic and foreign trade services, i.e. the primary sector, will be re-examined and reorganised in a coordinated manner by the state sector, the national sector and the private sector.

Factories and machinery are referred to as means of production in economics. In the capitalist system, the means of production are in the hands of a single capitalist. The majority of the people are deprived of these.

In the communist system, these values are in the hands of the state, and it is impossible for either the worker or the people to possess them. In our doctrine, however, these production is carried out by the savings of the worker, the merchant, and the civil servant. Therefore, these factories and machines belong to the peasant, the tradesman, and the civil servant, so the peasant, the tradesman, and the civil servant will own these factories and these machines in proportion to their savings. In this way, Turkish wealth and economy will belong to all members of the Turkish nation. Everyone will live happily and freely. The peasant, the tradesman, will own the factories and gain their property. In such a system, there will be no exploitation, no intermediation, no profiteering, no usury. We will place the control of banks, foreign trade, and national production under the control of the unions. We will place our underground wealth, our mines

We will nationalise it.

#### BASIC VIEW

Nationalism is based on a strong and developed economy. For two hundred years, capitalism has failed to develop Turkey. It cannot develop it in the future either. Communism, on the other hand, is our main enemy, our national enemy. It cannot develop our country either. Therefore, let us all embrace the Nine Principles. Otherwise, we face the danger of losing our way and our very existence. The basis of nationalism is the independence of our nation and state. Nationalist principles are based on the spirit of an independent and sovereign state. This can only be achieved through a national ideal.

## NATIONAL LABOUR AND CAPITAL POLICY

Labour is sacred.

The six principles are the foundation of *human* understanding. The main source of a nation's progress, survival and preservation is the example set by its children. However, freedom is the primary condition for human happiness. It is not beneficial to try to overcome the difficulties our nation faces by imitating foreign doctrines. For two hundred years, those who have governed Turkey have been prisoners of an imitation that destroys creative thinking. Just as every nation has its own characteristics, it also has its own specific conditions. Instead of imitating others, it is necessary to create a national system, a national method of administration, which takes these specific conditions into account and makes modern science and technology its guide.

Contemporary economies are characterised by a mixed economy. A mixed economy, in the classical sense, is an economic system in which the private sector and the public sector coexist. In this economy, the means of production are owned by individuals and public institutions (the state). Therefore, the private sector engages in economic activity, while the state operates within the public sector.

A mixed economy is temporary in nature. İkt-



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According to Dardski's political and economic theory, economic activities are ultimately left entirely to either the private sector or the public sector. If the political power's preference is towards a capitalist system, the public sector is transformed into the private sector; if it is towards a socialist system, the private sector is transformed into the public sector. Thus, ownership of production means is concentrated in a single entity, either as private or public ownership.

### Capitalist and Marxist systems and their flaws

The private sector is the form of application of the capitalist economic system, while the public sector is that of the socialist system. Like any system, both capitalist and socialist systems are fundamentally based on human freedom. However, it is impossible to claim that capitalist and socialist systems have achieved this goal. Today, despite the implementation of capitalist and Marxist systems in various countries around the world, humanity has not attained freedom. The reason for this is that in both systems, the ownership of the means of production is not distributed among the entire nation, that is, among all the individuals who make up society. In the capitalist system, the ownership of the means of production belongs to a very small part of the national community, namely the capitalists, while in the socialist system it belongs only to public institutions, to the state.

There is a very close connection between the concepts of property and freedom. Social and economic justice, freedom and equality, liberation from exploitation, overcoming alienation, and the development of people's material and spiritual personalities are all linked to property relations. People are divided into classes.

## **DOKUŖI İŖIK DOETRİtİ**

and societies, exploitation and alienation, is fundamentally due to some people owning property and others not.

The socialist (Marxist) system argued that capitalism could not regulate the distribution of property and advocated the abolition of private property and its replacement with public or state ownership. According to socialism, the capitalist social structure has granted ownership of the means of production only to the capitalist, leaving the working class deprived of this ownership. In society, some classes own the means of production while others do not, leading to differentiation and, consequently, the issue of exploitation. The minority who own the means of production began to exploit the majority who do not. Therefore, to eliminate exploitation, it is necessary to abolish private ownership of the means of production. If private ownership is abolished and the means of production are nationalised or state-owned, no one will be a property owner, and thus differentiation and exploitation will also be eliminated.

The mistake socialism made, as mentioned above, was failing to see the relationship between property and freedom . Since property is the guarantee of freedom and, if you will, the freedom of humanity, the path to follow is not the abolition of private property, but rather to make it national, to make it belong to the nation, to make everyone a property owner.

A society deprived of property, and especially of the property of production, cannot be free. This is the main reason why socialist societies cannot be free. Moreover, socialism is in great contradiction. Property relations have not been eliminated in socialist countries. De-

## BASIC VIEWS

only the subjects (owners) have changed.

Production, which used to belong to individuals, now belongs to the state and public institutions. According to socialism, the source of exploitation and differentiation

, this exploitation and differentiation continue today. For yesterday's exploiters were the bourgeoisie, while today they are the state and public institutions. However, in Marxist-Leninist countries, the state and the Communist Party are one and the same. The Communist Party is the state, and the state is the Communist Party. Thus, the communist party that has taken over the state constitutes the ruling class.

ruling class. In fact, the nationalisation of the means of production means that they are placed at the disposal of the Communist Party. To put it another way, property has not been nationalised, but rather 'has been *'particised'*'.

The Communist Party, on the other hand, is run by its Communist members. In this case, ownership is ultimately vested in the monopoly and control of the members of the Communist Party. Today, there is talk of a new class in Marxist-socialist countries. This class is a class formed by members of the Communist Party. This class is another form of the class found in capitalist *countries*. In communist countries, this class, which occupies the state or *the* bureaucracy, is a more exploitative, oppressive and crushing class than the capitalist bourgeoisie. While socialists wanted a classless society, class divisions have grown even larger, resulting in a dictatorial and exploitative class society. The Marxist state, which claims to be a workers' state, has become a despotic state that oppresses and exploits the workers. Communism is a system of that thrives on the backs of the workers and peasants, but sucks their blood. Today

The Marxist-socialist system implemented in various countries is nothing more than a cruel form of state capitalism that has reverted to the wild, inhumane and completely unjust liberal-capitalist system of the **18th, 19th** and 20th centuries.

In Soviet Russia, the difference between the wealth of individuals is more than 30 times greater. This privileged bureaucratic new class, members of the Communist Party, consists of only two million people. The other 240 million Soviet citizens are forced to live in poverty. History has never witnessed such a cruel era of class exploitation and oppression.

### **The national sector**

Our Constitution is closed to socialist and capitalist dictatorships. The system accepted by our Constitution is a national economic system based on our country's cards. The national economic system is actually based on a mixed economy. However, this is not a classical mixed economy, but a modern mixed economy. The characteristic of the modern mixed economy is the dual sector, namely the private sector, the national sector and the public sector. Here, a new sector, the national sector, is located between the two classical sectors.

The strategy in vital areas, the execution of key economic activities by the state, should be seen as essential for the rapid development of our nation and in light of Turkey's realities. Economic activities such as heavy industry, blast furnaces, refineries, oil operations, and transportation must be carried out by the state or under state control. In addition to these, material production and related industries

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

Private enterprise      s^\*§&gt;e8ğt Sanalar may be possible. Private enterprise s. In such endeavours, the state should ensure that developments always serve the public interest and ensured.

Economic life should be directed not according to blind profit, but according to the view of making profits that will benefit society. The principle of benefiting the nation should prevail over speculative profits star and usury.

Production should be continuous • ak and the aim should be to improve quality. In industry and trade, imitation should not be the main principle, but rather innovation and creativity.

The right to property is an inalienable requirement of human nature. Respecting property and enabling every citizen to own property is a matter of great importance on the path to prosperity. However, the misuse of property and its use as a means to subjugate other citizens must be prevented.

Property owners are responsible for managing their property well and operating it in a way that benefits society. For those who fail to do so, it should be necessary for the state to take over the operation of their property and pay them a fair rent.

### The state and private enterprise

Within the framework of the concept of the 'social state', we are also in favour of private enterprise, legitimate competition and free enterprise in the economic sense.

## DOĞUZYIŞIKDOKTRAI

In economic areas where private enterprise meets the needs of the people and the country, it is fundamental that the public sector does not engage in capital investment.

We cannot remain indifferent to fraudulent trade, capital flight and profiteering through ignorance. We must take preventive measures against these. We believe in the necessity of protecting, developing and supporting the spirit of enterprise and creative ideas.

It is the duty of the state to eliminate the individual's lack of initiative and insufficient knowledge through education, removing traditional and legal barriers.

It is among the duties of the state to make wealth that does not serve production productive, to encourage and motivate the people, to pool the small savings of individuals, to make the masses capitalists, and to make national production beneficial to the nation.

The national sector. It is a sector that will ensure the freedom of our people by nationalising the economic structure, strengthening our economic foundation, and distributing the ownership of the means of production fairly and equitably among the national base (the nation). The national sector is the fundamental condition for national integration and economic democracy. Modern democracy is essentially a regime of integration. Here, class conflict and social struggle, which threaten the state order, have given way to interclass harmony and social peace. The success of modern democracy depends on the ability to combine political democracy with economic democracy. Political democracy, in short, is the participation of the people in the administration of the country through free elections every four years, expressing their will and electing their leaders, while economic democracy is

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It is the ability to participate in economic decisions that concern one's own future. However, the ability to participate in economic decisions is only possible if one owns or shares the means of production. On the other hand, the ability to truly make political and economic choices and decisions depends on being free from external influences, being strong and organised.

Modern democracy is a democracy of organisations. Here, organisations are structured according to the socio-economic ties between them. The individual is stronger within his own organisation. The social group to which he belongs protects him against other social groups and the state. The legal aspect of the organisation of the Turkish nation, which I propose should be organised into six social strata, will be as follows:

### The legal organisation of the nation

Marxist and capitalist legal theory divides society into two classes. These are the capitalist class and the proletariat (workers). Capitalist legal theory, based on capital, envisages compulsory organisation for members of the capitalist class and voluntary (pluralist) organisation for the working class. Thus, in this system, employers are obliged to be members of the trade association established in their locality. This membership is based on the principle of obligation and compulsion. Consequently, it is not possible for capitalists to establish a second trade association in the same place, and those who are not members of the existing association cannot practise their trade or craft. The single and compulsory organisation is based on the principle that

strength in unity. Capitalism's desire-

## NINE IQIK DOCTRINE

This is essentially the point. In contrast, the capitalist system does not accept the principle established by " " (The labouring masses are united in a single organisation). Because if the labouring masses unite in a single organisation, the possibility of exploitation may diminish or disappear. This is not in line with the philosophy of capitalism.

Marxist legal theory, however, does not recognise classes outside the working class, and therefore only the working class is organised in this system. However, the organisation of the working class

is not based on the principle of freedom. It is organised under the orders and pressure of the Communist Party, and therefore under its exploitation.

Both of these theories are contrary to Turkish national interests; they are foreign theories that divide the nation into classes and set them against each other. Moreover, these theories are incompatible with modern science and social realities.

The legal organisation of the six social strata is as follows: 7/7 for the *working class*, 2/7 for the *Turkish working class*, 2/7 for the civil servants' organisation, and 2/7 for the employers' organisation. (5enJtkost9, *Türk İşnaf 7'eşUtött*, 7'ürL *Memur TeşLi-lçitt*, f'ürL *İşueren Teşkilklın* re 7'ürk *Serbest Meslek* Men-subu f'eskittitt will be established. Thus, each social stratum will be organised within its legal organisation.

There shall be six national social groups: the workers' union, the peasants' union, the tradesmen's union, the civil servants' union, the free professionals' union and the employers' union... These unions shall be established and operate entirely in accordance with democratic principles. Each union shall be independent of political power and shall have its own legal personality under private law. The management and supervisory boards of the union shall be elected by the general assembly of the union.

These associations, which are democratic and autonomous from a legal standpoint, will be dynamic in terms of economic development.



## TERMS OF REFERENCE

A royal decree will be issued. An economic savings and investment fund will be established for each unit, *and* the compulsory savings made by members will be invested in heavy industry and factory-based manufacturing. As a result of these investments, our economy will gain new production capacity, and the established factories and workplaces will give rise to a new sector. We will call this emerging sector in our economy the national sector. In this new order, the ownership of production will belong to the members of the union. Every means of production, i.e. factories and workplaces, will be given to the members of the union in the form of various shares. Thus, alongside the private sector and the public sector, a new sector will emerge, the " " ( ) production •«s » owned by .

### Our labour issue

In labour and capital relations, it is essential to maintain a sensible approach that takes into account human rights and justice principles. Acting in the best interests of the Turkish nation above all else is the primary duty of every Turkish citizen. Establishing a social security system that covers all Turkish citizens from Edirne to Cars is a fundamental need of our society. Urgent needs such as protection against unemployment, occupational safety, and equal opportunities must be met as soon as possible.

Transferring our farming population to other jobs is one of the most urgent tasks. For this purpose, broad employment fields

## PIG IGIK DOCTRINE

It must be done. In Turkey, there are many untapped riches to be evaluated, as well as many tasks that cannot be accomplished in a single lifetime. There is no "too late" for our nation. The whole issue is to join hands, with science and knowledge as our guide, and take on the traitors. We can send our people to foreign countries as leaders. and working together to tackle these challenges. The way to prevent our people from migrating to foreign countries is to secure our own jobs. This requires >s appointing competent and capable managers to positions of authority.

Workers' rights should be considered the foundation of social order.

Ensuring and protecting the full rights of our workers is our primary goal for the development and peace of society. It is absolutely necessary to adjust the daily wages of our workers in a manner commensurate with the earnings of citizens employed in other professions and the economic conditions of the country.

We reject class struggle and the idea of a single class, and we embrace the concept of nationhood, science, and humanity. Our s primary goal is to ensure, protect, and harmonise the rights of all working people . completions.

Our starting point for looking at national and global realities is the high status and interests of Turkey and the Turkish nation. By looking at issues in terms of class struggle, my claim that a single class should be the owner and ruler of everything (!) is, in our view, the **shortest route** to communism. Given that today's world is one of science, technology and culture, we believe that society must be governed by . We believe that society life

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

The stratification and class division resulting from the necessary division of labour in civil and economic affairs should never and cannot lead to the establishment of a hierarchy of domination in favour of any class. We are opposed to such a view. We will always fight against such behaviour, which leads society to unhappiness, disorder and a thousand troubles.

We must take measures to establish an adequate organisation for our workers who go abroad to work and to protect and support them in foreign countries. Today, thousands of our working citizens are destitute and scattered in foreign countries. We must take measures to establish an adequate organisation and to protect and support them in foreign countries. Today, thousands of our fellow workers are in a miserable, scattered and helpless state in foreign countries. These citizens are constantly under the influence of various negative propaganda. We must take urgent measures for them.

is

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### Social security

In the current environment in which our country finds itself, the citizens who are most burdened by heavy loads are the unemployed and the peasants. It is clear that our citizens living in villages sell the produce they have obtained with great difficulty for next to nothing and that the profits from their labour are not being realised.

It is clear that our peasants have long been at the mercy of moneylenders, profiteers, and black marketeers.

and black marketeers. The crisis faced by our workers is at least as deep and significant as that faced by our peasant citizens. They work in factories that are unhealthy and oppressive, or seven layers underground,

have brought to

light



It is evident that workers are often unable to receive the wages they have earned through their labour.

It is widely known that the number of workers affiliated with the Social Security Institution in Turkey exceeds 1.5 million and that these workers mostly live in large cities and shanty towns. It is clear that between 57% and 78% of workers in Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir and Adana are forced to live in single-room dwellings, which is extremely difficult with eight or nine people. It is clear that 44% of homes with poor housing conditions are occupied by working citizens, that workers are left waiting miserably at hospital doors, and that working people are unable to be sure of their jobs for a long time.

These are undeniable truths. It is absolutely essential to provide all workers with social security and to make this social security system available to every member of your nation.

Human labour is the most sacred value in the life of a nation.

Given that the average age in Turkey is 54 for men and 56 for women, it is never appropriate to demand that workers retire at 60 or older. Efforts must be made to continuously improve the social security of workers and all citizens. The opinions of foreign experts who do not know Turkey's cards cannot always be considered accurate. The establishment of social peace and the provision of social justice in the country is only possible with the rule of faithful leaders.

Indeed. Who in our country can deny the existence of profiteers, middlemen, and usurers?

in our country? Which of our citizens, apart from a certain segment of society, can stand up and say that

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## BASIC VIEWS

"I am confident about tomorrow," and who can claim that workers receive their wages in full in return for their labour? These are the realities of Turkey in the 1970s. We must see these realities and mobilise ourselves to solve the country's problems in light of these realities.

. We are obliged to mobilise ourselves on the path to resolving the country's problems in the light of these realities. Turkey is dreaming of an order in which poverty has been eliminated, exploitation has been overcome, the fear of unemployment has been conquered, and human beings have gained dignity... Here is Mil-

The power of the people is the power of the people, where all forms of exploitation have been eliminated, and citizens are confident about their future.

It will also bring about a new order. Under the Nationalist Movement's rule, there will be no middlemen, usurers, or profiteers. Under the Nationalist Movement's rule, all citizens will be embraced with equal love, without discrimination, and the mistreatment and belittling of one person by another will be strictly prevented. Under the rule of the Nationalist Movement, the principles of the supremacy of the people over power and of law over anarchy will prevail, and all citizens, from Edirne to Kars, will unite around the national ideal and embark on an economic war of liberation. It is impossible for an economically underdeveloped country to be independent. The guarantee of our political independence is achieving economic independence. It is imperative that Turkey break the chains of backwardness and escape the situation of becoming a market for others as soon as possible. We are fighting this battle, we are waging this struggle. In this struggle, we stand shoulder to shoulder, hand in hand, heart to heart, with our workers, our peasants, our tradesmen, our civil servants, and our professionals.

It must be so, and national unity and solidarity series Laşlatılan this sacred economic development struggle must be won

We have sworn an oath. The establishment of a classless, privilege-free, advanced, civilised and enlightened Turkey is only possible with the coming to power of idealistic, nationalist cadres. The Nationalist Movement will definitely achieve its goal through the efforts of the idealistic cadres who will establish the national order.

### Trade unionism and nationalism

The Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions is the largest labour organisation in Turkey, representing a large, dynamic and nationalist workforce. Turkish workers have always been seen as the biggest propaganda target, threatening our nation and state, and great efforts have been made to prevent this. Indeed, Tr-İř is beyond all praise in its efforts to combat all these foreign ideologies and to protect the masses it represents from danger.

Parties that have recently been dominated by reactionary ideas appear to be attempting to manipulate the Turkish-İř union, which is the sole representative of nationalist, patriotic Turkish workers. It is essential that the Turkish trade union movement be conducted above all party interests and conflicts for the sake of the future of Turkish workers. Trk-İř must operate above party politics, directing its activities towards the nationalist worldview that dominates the grassroots, i.e., the Turkish worker. If ideas cannot be formed in society and a void remains, this void must be filled with what and how?

## 'EEMİLİ GÖRÜŞİER

was demonstrated by the events before 12 March.

For this reason, nationalism, which is currently the strongest and most effective force, should be declared as the official worldview of this great organisation.

### Trade union politics and press unions

In today's world, the power of the press, which constitutes the fourth estate in the life of societies, is the greatest aid in establishing a happy and peaceful order. It is evident that our press is facing serious problems. From the perspective of the Nationalist Movement Party, I would like to focus on how Turkish press issues can be resolved within the framework of the Nine Lights ideology.

We have long advocated for the establishment of trade unionism based on single and compulsory membership in every sector to ensure that our labour rights are fully protected. It is in the interests of our nation as well as our workers to move towards national, uniform and compulsory trade unionism, especially in the press sector, which is the fourth estate. Unfortunately, this has not been achieved to date. The existence of multiple unions in the same sector unions in the same sector has been detrimental to workers. For this reason, the issue of unemployment in the Turkish press is currently a matter of

\*•\*r ••• s The issue of unemployment is tied up at this point. Therefore, we believe that the press will address the issue of unemployment through national, uniform, and compulsory trade unionism s. The government has a significant **responsibility** in this regard.

We are closely following various issues in the press. In today's political climate, they see themselves as the workers'





## BASIC PRINCIPLES

also entrusts the government with significant responsibilities.

As long as the issue of the minimum wage remains unresolved in the press, the problem of unemployment will persist. Our party's view is that the Nine Lights system, which squeezes intellectual workers like lemons and then discards them, cannot be tolerated.

Therefore, I would like to state that we will always stand by our intellectual workers, who have played an honourable role in the creation of Milliyet.

As the Nationalist Movement, we also believe that it is essential for workers, especially intellectual workers, to be present in the workplace in a certain proportion through the establishment of ballot boxes, and that they should receive a share of the profits as a requirement of the Nine Lights principle. In this way, the employer-employee agreement will be eliminated, and our nation's development efforts will progress at a rapid pace.

The national press, especially opinion journalism, should be supported by the government, as is the case in many Western countries. The press's paper, distribution and other technical issues must be addressed without fail, and the state should extend a generous hand to the press. In this way, the influence of reactionary ideologies, which threaten to undermine the Turkish nation and state, on members of the press will also be prevented. Furthermore, the authorities should pay close attention to the issue of establishing press associations as organs of publication in the public interest. This will also prevent the unemployment problem that arises from the crises we sometimes see in our country. Another issue concerning our press is the conversion of the sentences of intellectuals convicted solely of press offences into fines. Except for those who seek to destroy our nation and our state, the sentences of intellectuals convicted solely of press offences should be converted into fines.

## THE DOKUZIŞIK DOCTRINE

We wish to state that we stand with our press organisations regarding the conversion of the sentences of intellectual workers who have been convicted for various reasons into monetary fines.

### Our workers abroad and their issues (•)

At the request of various foreign states, and in accordance with the decision taken by the Turkish Republic, workers have been sent abroad for more than 15 years, with this number reaching approximately 700,000 in 1971. Although the work of our workers abroad is carried out by the Ministry of Labour and its affiliated institutions, contacts made with our workers in Germany, the Netherlands and other countries at various times, and reports prepared on their problems, despite being submitted to the competent authorities at the time, have not been resolved to date.

. 8 times within the month of October

invitation

n

I travelled abroad to fulfil these requests. As a result of the contacts I made contacts I made,

I — workers employed abroad, other than those from Turkey, who come to work in countries such as Germany, Belgium, etc., do not have equal rights with Turkish workers.

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fx1 Proposals submitted to the Presidency of the National Assembly on 1-12-1971 for the examination of the situation of workers abroad.

## TEMİEN GÖRÜÇİ ZR

As a result of the investigations into the complaints and documents, it has been understood that...

2 — In order to identify the problems of our citizens abroad and address their causes, various visits were made to Ç ı&lt; and other officials have organised trips abroad to supposedly remedy these shortcomings, to date no tangible results have been achieved from these fact-finding trips and the situation of our workers abroad has worsened.

\* When your workers abroad return home on leave, those arriving by road are subjected to unreasonable delays at border posts, police stations and customs offices, and the goods they bring as gifts for their families, purchased with the money they have earned through hard work, are confiscated even though they do not exceed the limit and are not subject to customs duty.and are confiscated despite not being subject to customs duties. To recover these gifts, legal offers are made, and customs officials unjustly profit from this. Indeed, some of your employeeswhen your workers arrive at the border as #ikàyeti, they are given a receipt stating that some of these gifts are subject to customs duty and are told to return in two days. When your workers return to customs two days later, the officials who issued the receipt claim that the receipt is not authentic and that they will not accept itand that no goods were delivered to customs in exchange for this receipt, thereby committing fraud at customs with a forged receipt and causing our workers to suffer losses through this method.

4 — Workers in **the homeland**, in Turkey's labour market

## DOKUZIŞIK DOCTRINE

complain that the money they send to their relatives does not reach them on time. They are complaining . Mese-  
]§ , a worker in **Jya1iya**, states that money he sent to a relative in Turkey only reached its destination after 3-4 months and that his bond was not paid on time due to the delay in the money arriving, and that his house was sold as a result. Our employee's application to the relevant German postal administration proved that the money was sent to Turkey on time, and it was determined that these remittances reached the family of our workers late due to the negligence of the P.T.T.

5 — Some of our representatives serving abroad are neglecting their duties and failing to deal with our workers properly. Our workers are kept waiting for hours at the consulate doors, and as a result  
They are receiving less than their daily wages from certain places and suffering losses. As this sentence indicates, the holidays of the countries where they work do not concern Turkey,  
, our consulates are closed on Turkish national and religious holidays, as well as on holidays of foreign countries that do not concern us, and they do not perform their duties, leaving the affairs of our citizens unattended. Similarly, imams and preachers, who are religious officials, should be performing their duties in places where our citizens gather, but it is regrettable that these individuals have been assigned clerical duties at the consulates and are not performing their duties.

6 — The situation of our female workers abroad is heartbreaking. There is no mechanism to protect these workers, and women

## BASIC VIEWS

are left to fend for themselves, and their family relationships in our homeland are being shaken day by day. Without undergoing a long preparatory period to develop self-discipline, our female workers who enter a very different social environment are bound to suffer.

7 — Approximately 700,000 of our workers employed abroad are working and living together with their families, estimated to be around 100,000, in the places where they work. It is the natural right of our children to be educated alongside our children in Turkey, who have the same rights in terms of reading, but unfortunately, this is not the case. It is the natural right of our children to receive an education alongside our children in Turkey, who have the same rights in terms of education. Unfortunately, due to the indifference of governments, teachers are not sent to these children, who are left to their own devices, and as a result, these children are deprived of national education.

8 — Workers workers being thousands of kilometres away from their homeland, the technical inadequacy of Turkish radio stations being technically inadequate, and the absence of an organisation responsible for the distribution of Turkish newspapers compels our workers to follow the propaganda-like broadcasts of radio stations behind the Iron Curtain, and the fact that German radio stations do not broadcast to other foreign workers creates a sense of inferiority among our workers.

9 — Our , deposit these funds in German banks, with only a small portion coming to Turkey. The reason is that our workers

When we ask our workers about this, they often mention the exchange rate difference between the Turkish lira and the currency they earn, and therefore the formalities imposed by our banks and the fact that they are not guided in the planar se(I) (') prepared in Turkey to bring their savings to Turkey as a useful source of foreign exchange and to engage them in profitable investment projects.  
and engage t h e m in profitable investment projects.

10 — As a result of my various contacts with our workers abroad, our compatriots are complaining that they cannot participate in the elections held in our homeland, and they are concerned that workers from other countries in the same place as them workers in their home countries to and demand that the right to vote and to be elected, as granted to citizens by the Constitution, even if they are abroad.

Based on the reasons listed above and other reasons I will present in my speech before the High Assembly, a parliamentary inquiry into labour issues at home, abroad and at customs should be opened in accordance with Article 88 of the Constitution.

MİLLÎ **EĞİTİM**— MİLLÎ KÜLTÜR





## NATIONAL EDUCATION

### National cultural struggle

Today, a cultural war, which we might call a war of sound and silence, continues with full force across the earth and among nations. A country's castles may be conquered, its armies may lose battles, but that country can never be considered defeated unless the hearts and minds of its people are conquered. History is full of examples of this.

It is a great truth that "the one who tries to destroy a nation is the best *among its people*." In the cultural war, nations aim to destroy the language, religion, customs, and future of other nations, their national and spiritual values, and to establish their own culture. Therefore, the cultural war is not a matter of memorising and reciting; it is a matter of nurturing and developing the minds, hearts and bodies of generations.

Today, the plans and programmes of the Ministry of National Education in our country are far removed from the goal of raising a nationalist youth. Institutions that serve education and teaching cannot claim or prove that they have fully and correctly fulfilled their duties in raising the youth. Schools must be freed from the encyclopaedic character of knowledge ( ) and the character of rote learning ( ), and must be transformed into institutions that cultivate critical thinking ( ).

## NATIONAL EDUCATION — NATIONAL CULTURE

should be transformed into a place of learning and a source of faith that elevates the student to the heights of knowledge, faith, and morality.

Instead of admitting students based on national needs, class size, and queue order, universities should be established based on students' abilities, and university cities should be built with modern, large facilities that meet the need for accommodation in *large* areas.

A nation that builds its own ships, aircraft and atomic power plants must, in addition to other conditions for social balance and development, cultivate the brainpower of its people. Governments that squander and waste the country's great potential (\*) have neglected to make extensive and serious investments in developing brain power.

As another consequence of the long-standing flawed education system, the channels between the public and the intellectuals are now blocked, and the bonds between them have been severed. Intellectuals are distant from the public, and the public has lost hope in intellectuals. We must remember that reason, a gift from Allah, is a superior essence above all else, and national education must be based on the foundations of science, faith and morality. It should not be forgotten that the development and happiness of nations depend on efforts to fill the minds, hearts and souls of individuals with science, faith and morality.

### National education

It is more beneficial for Turkey's rapid development to cultivate talented individuals as a specialised group. However, regarding the views on national education

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

I would like to elaborate a little further to avoid any misunderstanding.

Turkey's national education system has been run in a very haphazard and inconsistent manner since the founding of the Republic. Today, the same blind and outdated system continues to be perpetuated. Education must be based on a plan that will lift Turkey out of its current state as soon as possible, taking into account the social and economic situation and needs of our nation. Therefore, it is necessary to first determine the number of personnel required in Turkey, identify their branches, set targets to be achieved within specific periods, and organise educational activities accordingly. In other words, it is necessary to determine how many doctors, health officers, midwives, nurses, and so on are needed for the health of the people in Turkey, as well as how many engineers, construction engineers, and other such personnel are needed. midwives, nurses, and similarly, how many mechanical engineers, construction engineers, and so on are needed must be determined scientifically.

From now on, national education must be planned accordingly. Our economic situation and needs must also be taken into consideration in the same way. The current practice in Turkey is as follows: Primary schools are established wherever possible, and pupils who graduate from these primary schools are sent to secondary schools.

And students graduating from these primary schools are expected to attend secondary schools, while efforts are being made to open high schools for those completing secondary school. Thus, our students graduating from high school cannot fit into universities.

Even if enough universities could be established to accommodate the students graduating from high schools, our children graduating from these universities would then find themselves in a situation where they have to *push against* certain doors. And most of all, **the** doors of the state.

They will want to take them. Since it is not possible to place so many university graduates in government positions, this will be a cause for concern in itself. As things stand, I cannot take all of our children who have finished secondary school to university at once. This situation alone is causing a number of unfortunate incidents. Moreover, one of Turkey's most important needs is to train technical personnel. To this end, it is imperative that education be directed towards technical training in line with the social and economic goals of the nation. Generally speaking, it is certainly a desirable goal to ensure that the entire nation receives higher education. However, this is a matter that requires considerable resources. Therefore, it is necessary to set priorities and adopt a plan that will develop the country in the shortest possible time. Given the current state of the world, the great advances in science and technology...

Breasts have opened up broad horizons for nations. Even poor, **gari** Even nations that are small in size, with sparse populations and limited resources, can achieve a high level of scientific and technical advancement, enabling them to compete with larger, more populous and powerful nations.

For a nation lagging behind in science and technology to rise rapidly, the training of a cadre of four thousand scientists and technicians provides it with great opportunities. This is much easier and cheaper than attempting to send the entire population of a nation, numbering millions, to university. For this reason, I can summarise my views on the most beneficial resolution of our national education cause as follows:

- s) Selecting specialists **zumre olarak**

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

and should be trained according to the social and economic needs and goals of the country.

b) Education should be transformed into technical education in such a way as to train a sufficient number of technical personnel to meet the country's needs.

c) In order to ensure the rapid education of the people, the Dokuz Işık doctrine also advocates the implementation of the village planning system.

The most pressing problem we face is to rapidly raise Turkey to the highest level in terms of industry and technology. I believe that the development of our nation depends primarily on this. Naturally, this involves modernising our infrastructure and developing Turkey's heavy industry. The world is on the threshold of a new era. This is the age of the atom and the space age. We can also call it the age of science and technology. This new era, which began with the industrial movement in the eighteenth century and developed, has had a profound impact on the social life of societies.

, it will also change people's

lives. We must see this now. For this reason, in our country, I am the first of my nation after 27 May, across the centuries, a

sis\*• • •I proposed skipping over and not getting caught up in atoms and space. I still hold that view today. Instead of wasting our time and resources on trivialities and displays that will come and go,

we should devote all our energy to harnessing steam and electricity, entering the realm of atoms and space, and advancing science and technology.

The greatest shortcomings and flaws I see in university youth today are also present in Turkish society.

## NATIONAL EDUCATION - CULTURAL HERITAGE

. I can list these as follows:

- a — Lack of purpose, absence of national ideals,
- b — **Lack of seriousness,**
- c — Lack of discipline and, along with these, a lack of respect for people's rights.

The loss of qualities such as loving people and not being selfish, and being in a state of crisis. We can also add their laziness and lack of diligence to the list. Furthermore, passing classes and obtaining a diploma at any cost is destructive for our country. Unfortunately, cheating has become a habit among our children and is often considered heroic.

It is being said. However, plagiarism is not only a bad habit but also a form of fraud. Neither in our homes nor in the work of our national education officials is the necessary attention being paid to eliminating these spiritual deficiencies in our children.

The extreme leftist movements spreading among university youth in recent years pose a serious threat to our country. Our youth are being loaded with a set of theoretical knowledge in our schools. However, our children are not being given a national identity, a national philosophy of life, or a national worldview. Our children's hearts and minds are largely left empty in this regard. Whatever happens to fill an empty vessel will fill it. Therefore, it is not enough to try to explain to the children of our country that communism is wrong and harmful, that it is evil and harmful. To explain this to the people of Turkey is not enough. For the liberation of Turkey, communism is a suitable

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

It is our duty to clearly demonstrate that no such system exists and then to propose a national system that will rapidly develop Turkey, a national vision.

### Educational reform

An education system that is not national, that does not foster national culture, national character and national consciousness, cannot be anything other than an unhealthy, harmful, bankrupt education system. Unfortunately, this is the case with the education system currently in force in our country. However, we are in anguish because we cannot see that the reforms sought for our education system are based on national consciousness and national culture. What is expected from education is this: to unite the minds of the people living in a country , teaching them their history and national identity, and ensuring that the human resources necessary for national development are raised in a useful manner.

It is important to note that education has two main functions. Its first function is to shape national culture and national consciousness, while its second function is to contribute to economic development, environmental development and national development within this culture and consciousness. Every system has its own unique models. For example, Marxist or Jashist principles are determined according to the values on which those systems are based. In a Marxist system, the primary focus is on economic development and contributing to economic growth. For this reason, education in Marxist systems emphasises only this aspect. In addition, individuals are taught to remain loyal to the Marxist regime and system and not to betray it. The national education system of this type, as mentioned above,

The primary focus should be directed towards the main objective: First, the history, culture, and values of the nation to which the members of the diaspora belong should be explained to them, and they should be integrated with these and with each other.

. They should also have a mindset that will contribute to the country's development as productive researchers. Today, we see that only the second element is being emphasised. However, it is impossible for people who have not developed a national culture, character, and consciousness to contribute to economic development.

### Paid education

According to our constitution, the state is responsible for providing education and training to individuals. Equal opportunity in education is a requirement of democracy. The issue of equal opportunity in education can be resolved by personnel who are well aware of the economic and cultural conditions of our country's people.

The Turkish people can reach the level of contemporary life. This is possible through widespread education that encompasses all segments of society.

The Basic Law of National Education establishes a session that emphasises the principle of "equality in *education*" with regard to higher education.

According to the National Education Basic Law, higher education is fee-based. This type of practice is in force in some Western countries. However, in our country, the national income per capita is very low compared to Western countries. Moreover, in our country, the distribution of national income among individuals is unfavourable to the poor. Higher education is a commodity that can be purchased with money.



### TEMEI OPINION III

We cannot accept this. Poor young people who wish to pursue higher education are becoming disheartened by this situation. It is promised that scholarships will be given to poor and successful students. What exactly is meant by a repair student here? What is the measure of poverty? It is not right to seek academic excellence from those who have no money, but not from those who do. In fact, the situation of secondary education institutions that prepare candidates for university is a disaster, both in terms of the preliminary information given to young people and in terms of the teaching staff and technical aspects. We cannot expect children from these backgrounds to be successful at first glance. Therefore, even if young people have the necessary funds, most of them will still lack the means to pursue higher education, regardless of what is done.

Such a law, which violates the principle of equal opportunity in education and training and is contrary to our constitution, will cause constant anxiety in our country.

## MAI      EDUCATION — CULTURE

It is a pitiful and instructive situation that those who merely mimic outward appearances and label those who do not think like themselves as reactionary and uncivilised are themselves reactionary and uncivilised.

As Nationalist Movement Party members, we are fighting, above all else, for a new understanding of morality to prevail in our country. In a society devoid of morality, no matter how much economic problems are solved, it is impossible to speak of peace. It will only be possible for the people of our country to love and respect one another, to help one another in the spirit of national unity and solidarity. Only in this way will it be possible to serve the country and work for the benefit of society in our nation's economic development struggle. In materialistic societies, the realisation of the points we have mentioned above is impossible. Both capitalist and communist systems

The prevailing thought among the masses is that, because of material gain, it is impossible for individuals to engage in work for the benefit of society. We say that for this reason, it is only possible for individuals to be useful to society through the cultivation of high ideals, the development of spiritual values, and the establishment of high moral standards in society.

### The struggle for morality

Our struggle is not a struggle for political gain at any cost, but a struggle for morality and virtue. The character of this struggle is not destructive, but constructive

## TEMEL GÖRÜŞLER

and will lead the Turkish people to victory. I invite the Great Turkish Nation to join this honourable struggle.

Your belief is that Turkey's development movement must begin with the establishment of morality. This is the fundamental philosophy of our Liberation Movement. The science and technology we place great importance on are also connected to this. It should not be forgotten that participation in morality within a society eliminates all contradictions. As a great thinker said, science and wisdom also arise from morality.

It is with regret that I must say that today, bribery, favouritism and profiteering have engulfed the entire country like a plague. Social discipline is lacking, and state authority is weak. Citizens complain about the simplest administrative procedures, customs, credit institutions, hospitals, and the lack of value for their products; they are distressed at not receiving a return for their sweat and labour. Usurers are on the rise, benefits are in the hands of the powerful, and services and burdens are on the backs of the weak.

The noble Turkish nation today feels the necessity and urgency of returning to itself and awakening anew. As a result, the broad masses of the people, who believe and understand that the path to definitively free our homeland from the crisis it finds itself in and enable our nation to reach the level of the most advanced nations is the nationalist movement, have begun to show great favour towards our party.

Thus, the nationalist idea has been liberated from false romanticism and has become a movement at the service of the nation. This movement serves our beloved nation within the framework of a democratic system and constitution.

It is the path of justice. Respect for human rights and dignity, freedom

who do not compromise on Turkish pride and Ş\*\*'tt. is ahleli and faziletiyle yugrulmuş, Dokuz @k gtiriişii de hareketimizin işigidir.

Those who believe in the nationalist movement are not among those who seek the establishment of social justice in the pockets of others. The justice of the order we will establish will be possible with the sacrifice of those who bring order first and their compliance with the order. For if those who govern the state are moral, virtuous, and self-sacrificing, and do not compromise on these values, then morality, virtue, and self-sacrifice will gradually permeate down to the lowest-ranking official.

One of the tenets of the Nine Lights doctrine is moralism. Our understanding of moralism is that morality is a value within the framework of Turkish and Islamic values. We have defined our moral perception according to our own customs and traditions, separate from the perceptions of foreigners. Since the values of the Nationalist Movement are identical to the intrinsic values of our beloved nation, the future power of the Nationalist Movement will be the power and resurgence of our nation, and no one will be able to prevent this happy outcome.

### The language struggle

In establishing an advanced Turkey, I wish to emphasise the importance of science and life in general national education. We are determined to restructure national education institutions and expand technical education. Our goal is to provide equal opportunities and possibilities for advancement and growth at every level of education, based on the abilities of the nation's children. On this occasion, the language of instruction

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

And let me state our position on the language issue. The language issue is a matter of existence and independence. I see it as the unity and integrity of the nation, the continuity of national history. We love and cherish Turkish like our mother and motherland. Our principle and inspiration in the language case is that the language should develop on the basis of the spoken language, the language of the people, that it should not deviate into an artificial language, that it should not fall prey to the harmful and incompatible influences of foreign languages, that it should not create confusion in the understanding of *issues*, and that it should not deviate from the vital goal of developing as a universal language in the Turkish world.

The supremacy of the Turkish language in thought, education and scientific life is fundamental. We see a harmful development in universities where English is taught as the official language, conforming to the culture of imperialism. We will put an end to this situation.

### Science: Turkish

Today, it is possible for a Turkish youth to be educated entirely in English from primary school through to the end of university. It is not only possible, it is now the norm. This is the case not only in all technical fields, but also in administrative and social fields today. A young person who has undergone this education does not know the Turkish language of their profession, nor are they obliged to know the Turkish terms for the subjects they have studied.

at any stage, and if they do know it, it is merely an added advantage.

This will not happen. The end result of this will be that English becomes the official language of Turkey in the very near future. This is a situation that would be considered strange even in some African countries still living in a semi-tribal state in this day and age. No nation with any dignity would accept this, nor could it. The trend is

## NATIONAL EDUCATION — NATIONAL CULTURE

is far more serious, far more dangerous than it seems. Today, in Turkey, a letter can be sent in English from one Turkish institution to another, from one Turk to another, and this is not considered strange.

Today, knowing a foreign language, knowing it well, is a necessity. However, knowing many subjects only in English, not knowing them in one's own mother tongue, is related to the loss of dignity and honour.

All your schools should only teach Turkish, but foreign languages should be taught well as separate subjects.

English language teaching in Turkish schools also creates some peculiar situations. For example, at Ankara College, one of Turkey's best chemistry teachers is unable to continue teaching chemistry, while in contrast, substandard foreign teachers brought in from outside are teaching science subjects at high salaries. Although Middle East Technical University needs staff, it cannot hire a Turkish professor who also knows German or French well. Instead, it hires unqualified volunteers from abroad, who cannot find other work in their own countries.

Turkish is being pushed aside. A ridiculous claim is being spread that science cannot be done in Turkish. This is unfounded. Turkish is extremely suitable as a language of science and is much more capable than English of easily generating new terms. Many of our scientists have proven this abundantly over the years with their writings in various fields.

But now Turkish is being suppressed and betrayed. The issue of teaching in Turkish is not just a matter of linguistics, or even nationalism

The dignity of the **Turkish** people, their

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

Trusting in their own language, not succumbing to feelings of inferiority, honour, and prestige among the nations of the world are matters of importance.

Today, just as imperialist Russia is forcing Russian language education in Estonia, Lithuania and Turkestan, striving to destroy the identity of the Turkic peoples, so too is Turkey losing its language, its mother tongue, and with it its identity.

How did English teaching spread? It began with foreign schools such as Robert College, supported by church organisations and foreign governments. These institutions strove to present their students as a privileged, enviable class in the eyes of the public. They automatically sent their graduates to America and accepted wealthy children. Later, some private schools for the poor were established to compete, imitating American and British schools. They were also encouraged by some external aid.

The Turkish Education Association, established to improve Turkish education, ended up pursuing the exact opposite of its goals, adopting foreign curricula and foreign teachers for its own purposes. Later, the Ministry of National Education also chose to imitate private colleges. It established Maarif colleges.

It established "colleges" with English-language instruction, such as Zonguldak College and Konya Maarif College. These schools have American supervisors (advisers).

The peak of these foreign language education activities is represented by a special branch of the Middle East Technical University. While our other universities are increasingly bogged down in bureaucracy and difficulties,

## FINANCIAL EDUCATION - CULTURAL EDUCATION

-oogu Technical University graduates are being developed to find employment. In a system where all key points of the country are managed by young people who love their profession, they will be administered by young people who love their profession.

The Middle East Technical University was established by Law No. 7307 and is administered in accordance with this law. We quote the following articles from this law verbatim:

"Article 1 — A university with legal personality, named Middle East Technical University, has been established in Ankara for the purpose of providing education to the youth, conducting research, and being administered within the provisions of this law.

Article 2 — The objectives of the Middle East Technical University are as follows:

A) To provide advanced education in scientific, technical and professional fields, generally in English, *to students* from all over the world, thereby offering extensive opportunities.

B) To provide equal opportunities to students from other countries who are eligible for admission, upon their application and acceptance as students,

C) and *to pay particular attention to the economic problems of the members of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, especially those who are members of the Turkish Chamber of Commerce and Industry.* /oyda soytayacok tntbikî şehritrtnoîar yapmak.'> Pay particular attention to the following provision in the law:

"Article 5 — The Board of Trustees shall be composed of individuals recognised for their exceptional experience in science and technical education and who are of high moral character.



## E OPINIONS

and who is a Turkish citizen, shall be appointed as a consultant.  
as an advisor.

A) The advisory rector is the rector's principal advisor on scientific, technical and professional research and teaching matters.

B)

D) The Vice-Chancellor ranks second to the University Chancellor in academic rank.

These articles indicate the hidden goals and methods of the university's establishment, which resemble the methods used by the Russians in Czechoslovakia.

In a university run with money from the Turkish people's pockets, whose main goal is to educate Turkish youth, English is compulsorily taught, Furthermore, when the environment becomes sufficiently complacent and self-effacing, this Turkish university is managed by a foreign rector under the guise of a rector, dictating the goals of foreigners in all important educational and research matters.

It is a fact that Middle East Technical University is gradually being steered in the desired direction through a technique of gradual conditioning and lulling, without arousing suspicion in foreign hands. For example: Ford initially provided financial assistance to the university, seemingly unrelated to the government, and with this assistance facilitated the arrival of foreigners from abroad, but in doing so, it appeared not to exert pressure on the university. Then suddenly this assistance was drastically reduced, and just as it was about to be completely cut off, it was replaced by directly from the American government.  
, a point worthy of attention, many

## MILİTİTİM — MILİTİTİM

The conditions have been stipulated. For example, one million dollars is being provided for three or five years, but this will only go towards the salaries of American personnel sent by the United States. Additionally, a two-million-dollar loan is being provided. Turkey will repay this loan, but the funds can only be used to purchase goods manufactured in America. It should be noted that, for instance, Turkish-made goods or goods purchased from America at a lower price cannot be bought with this money. Turkish personnel were not granted opportunities and equal rights, and while they were being honoured, low-quality personnel sent with the aim of destroying Turkish culture would educate our youth. Furthermore, although the university only wanted to accept assistance in the technical field, it was forced to accept foreign personnel assistance in the humanities as well, and this was made a condition.

The public was given false impressions about the establishment of this university; it was claimed that it was an international university, run internationally, and therefore its language of instruction was English. These claims are unfounded. The idea of an international university is a beautiful and progressive one. However, the Middle East Technical University is not an international university. It is merely a game. Furthermore, the idea of an international university is one that cannot even be implemented in America today. Look how foreigners mock the Middle East Technical University:

In the January 1918 issue of the American magazine *HotiarP*, it is stated as follows: "Imagine that there is a university in Washington that provides entirely Hussian education. And imagine that the American government is paying for it.

## OPINIONS

You might say, "That's impossible." But this unbelievable thing really exists today. In Mara, all English-taught students receive funding from the Turkish government. -Eastern Technical University.

**O.D.T.Ü.** is educating thousands of Turkish youth. Not thousands of foreigners. Despite this, tens of thousands of Turkish youth are still on the streets. Accepting a small number of students from other countries is beneficial. But if we are to spread Turkish culture, language and influence, we must make this sacrifice. Every country does this for foreign students, teaching them its language. No country sacrifices its national future and honour with its own money on the pretext of a few foreign students. Many countries around the world accept foreign students into their universities, but they do so within a national policy. Only education carried out within such a mindset and policy can provide benefits for our nation.

### *Desired Amendments:*

1 — Article 5 of Law No. 7307 should be repealed by a new law or amended to stipulate that the advisory rector must be Turkish. This would prevent the administration of one of our most important universities from falling entirely into foreign hands. Otherwise, a weak rector will be appointed, who will then demand a foreign advisory rector.

2 — All teaching should be in Turkish, but a good knowledge of a foreign language should still be required. Otherwise, the university will degenerate. To this end, preparatory classes in foreign languages should still be available, and students who do not know a language should study English, German or French for one year. In addition, each year, students should take an exam in the foreign language they have chosen and in their profession.

They should take exams on related subjects and also take professional foreign language courses every year. In this way, they can follow foreign language *professional* and scientific books. Turkish will not die out. Turkish should be taught to foreign students. Foreign scientific works should be widely translated into Turkish.

3 — Teaching staff admitted to the university should be selected based on the same principles as before, and the advantages of the Middle East Technical University over other universities should be highlighted.

. Mutual cooperation with various countries (especially Japan, However, in doing so, national dignity, honour, and culture must not be sacrificed, and we must not become tools for the goals of other countries (neither Russia's nor America's).

## YOUTH

The topic of youth can be approached from several angles. Education •From that point of view, from the perspective of culture, from the perspective of physical and spiritual education, and most importantly from a political perspective. This last point encompasses the others as well, so it must be emphasised.

Moreover, from a political perspective, it is also an important issue in today's world.

When we say youth, although we mean all Turkish youth, in reality we are referring to youth who are effective and able to express themselves.

Especially in backward societies, youth's involvement in politics...

Whether this is necessary or not is a matter for debate. However, we must immediately point out that youth are the unheard representatives of a backward people. This means that if the elected representatives, the members of parliament, become incompetent, corrupt, or even malicious in their service, the duty of protecting the people's interests falls to the youth. This is why it is possible to conclude that political parties that do not have a good relationship with the youth are more interested in their own interests than in serving the people.

It is doubtful that managers intent on profiteering would welcome the youth's protests and attempts to alert the people.

Training tomorrow's leaders is the greatest service to the nation and the people. Meetings, conferences

Those who gather crowds around them to applaud themselves at rallies and meetings, and to boo their opponents, are twisted individuals who exploit youth as loudmouths or bought-off propagandists. And how sad it is that this has been the treatment youth have received until now.

How could the blind, who cannot see the path they themselves must take, show the way to others? If the blind lead the blind Both fall into the pit. This is truly the state of youth today. Short-sighted leaders, like themselves, have also led the youth of Turkey into the pit. The issue now is to save the youth, to show them the right path to follow, the path of the Turkish ideal. The youth must understand that American servitude and Russian servitude lead to the same door. Sympathising with communist Russia is nothing more than a desire to change masters. Serving anything other than the Turkish ideal is slavery.

Meanwhile, young people are not entirely blameless. They must find those who show them the true path and follow them. Even if not everyone is expected to be an idealist, everyone, every Turkish youth, is responsible for not leaving the idealists alone. I do not merely say that every soldier must shed his sweat in the construction of the sacred monument called Powerful and Happy Turkey; I say he is obliged to do so.

Any Turkish youth who fails to properly fulfil the duty of creating a new society, a new nation and a new history will have betrayed their ancestors, their problems and the Turkish ideal.

Turkish youth must lead the Turkish people.

## Addressing the Youth

My young friends;

Dear young people; we argue that it is necessary and essential to base state administration on the historical values of the Turkish nation, on the collective conscience and on Islamic morality, and we believe that we will gain strength and power by relying on these elements. Going even further, we say that if strength is to be gained by denying or altering our national, moral, and historical characteristics, in short, by abandoning our Turkishness, we are against it. "For the wolf will not consent to become a dog to satisfy its hunger."

My dear friends, whenever our nation has, in any era of history, , if it has ever envied others or tried to resemble others, it has fallen into ruin and its state has collapsed. But whenever it has turned to itself, relying on the essence of its own identity, it has become a power that shook the world.

The eternal counsel inscribed by the Wise Khan on the Orhun heads reveals the truth.

"O Turk, tremble at your own greatness."

The return to oneself has begun. Nationalism, which for years was viewed as a crime, has flared up again. So much so that for 29 years, nationalism was not to be mentioned, and young people, elderly scholars, and university intellectuals were accused of nationalism and subjected to the torture of the coffin, Even opportunists, socialists, communists, and Freemasons have been compelled to appear nationalistic. This is a great victory and it has been achieved.

#### NATIONAL EDUCATION - NATIONAL CULTURE

We emerged victorious from the war. For our weapon was the history of the Turks, the spirituality of the Turks, the reality of the Turks—in short, the Turks themselves. Their weapon was corruption, slander, abuse, mockery, self-interest, greed, lies, and deceit.

In Anatolia, they say, "What can the wind tear from the rock?" The storm wind struck the rock of Turkishness and shattered it.

The first stage has been completed; nationalism has been accepted by both friend and foe.

Now the second stage has begun—nationalism must be applied politically and administratively. We will achieve this too. All Turks feel the power of 100 million Turks within us.

, my friends;

Let us build a free, prosperous, and powerful Turkey.

And very quickly, very fast, without wasting any time. After 200 years of waiting, since 19G0, time has been wasted with hesitations and petty games. This time could have been enough to end a war with love, faith and knowledge.

to end a war. That is my sorrow. We curse those who squander the paths of national life for the sake of personal whims. Our cause is not with individuals but with attitudes.

My dear friends;

The first task on the path to strengthening is industrialisation. Today, no matter how small a country's population and land area may be, a country with a strong industry is a powerful country. Technological advances and the introduction of atomic and physical weapons into the field of warfare have created huge differences between those who possess them and those who do not. We must catch up with our contemporaries who possess advanced technology.



## BASIC PRINCIPLES

...

This is not a secure guarantee. If tomorrow, encouraged by internal troublemakers, we leave NATO, or if a Russian-American agreement leads to NATO's dissolution, will we seek new alliances? No, my friends, we must be a nation that defends itself, with its own weapons, self-sufficient. This is possible through industrialisation. All the resources of the state and the people will be directed towards industry. A quarter of the population living in villages will be employed in industry. In this way, our fellow citizens, who are idle and idle because they are idle, will find work, live comfortably, and reap the rewards of their labour. Turkey's production will increase, it will be self-sufficient, and it will sell to foreigners. The population in agriculture will decrease, and today's smallholder farms ( 8) acres of land (250) acres or more will become family farms.

In industrialising Turkey, scattered villages will be merged to form new cities. A factory has transformed a village of 12 households, such as Karabük, into a city with a population of 55,000. This is the social and economic principle. One workplace gathers and feeds six people. With its underground mines and surface water energy resources, Turkey has the potential to industrialise rapidly. This potential must be utilised.

Customers are ready for our manufactured goods. Our oil-producing southern neighbours, who have a high consumption rate (low, strong defamation capacity, historical, religious, strategic unity), will purchase the cheapest goods for themselves from Turkey.

The direction of education for the establishment and development of this industry will be changed every year at the gates of the university.

## NATIONAL EDUCATION — NATIONAL CULTURE

The youth, who are watching with anguish, will settle into universities that teach new technical sciences, and hundreds of thousands of engineers and technicians will soon realise the new Turkey, the Great Turkey.

You are the source of our strength, the focus of our hope, the guarantee of our future, our dear youth.

### Our understanding of youth

Youth is the foundation of a new behaviour and a developing society in the existence of free thought and human intellect. It is a source of energy and hope. Youth is the realisation, the elevation, the advancement of political goals.

In Turkey, we want a youth that is mentally, spiritually and physically healthy, free in thought and conscience, possessing a strong will that is neither oppressed nor eager to oppress, prepared to shoulder the responsibility for the future of the state and the nation, and confident in itself.

With this spirit and awareness, we accept Turkish youth as the solution to our social, cultural and economic development, as a powerful foundation that upholds and elevates our national identity and ensures its indivisibility. We see them as an element constituting the main structure of a strong and prosperous Turkey in the future and as its high administrators.

Turkish youth is an indivisible whole; it is not the capital or plaything of divisive efforts.

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

### Goal and objectives

The goal of Turkish youth is to ensure the establishment of a state order and administration, together with all its institutions, that will realise and guarantee human rights and freedoms, the welfare and peace of the individual and society, and social security in Turkey, and to act as a dynamic force in the construction and development of the Republic of Turkey as a state of freedom, peace, service and prosperity. The objective is to contribute constructively to the common civilisation of contemporary humanity. To this end, as Turkish youth, we consider it necessary to mobilise all the power and resources of the state to establish and create an advanced way of life, and to equip and organise the nation according to contemporary science and technology. We want scientific thought and planning to prevail in the administration of the state, in social life, and in the education of the nation.

Turkish youth is committed to this goal:

a — The ideal of a nationalist, spiritual, social, and constitutional state;

b — We believe that this can be achieved by sincerely adhering to the principles of morality, nationalism, ethics, science, collectivism, progressivism, hal\*ç\*k, ruralism, technicalism and industrialisation.

Young people constitute over 40% of Turkey's total population. Compared to the youth of other developed countries, Turkish youth are more aware of contemporary civilisational issues and are in a more sensitive position, which makes them a driving, proactive force. The unity of the Turkish nation, the Turkish homeland and the Turkish state

## NATIONAL EDUCATION — NATIONAL CULTURE

sovereignty and integrity, and must always maintain the awareness and enthusiasm to fight against the forces *that* seek to undermine this fundamental value. Eastern and Western countries recognise the important role of their youth.

They have realised and continue to realise their political goals and objectives for youth. In addition, they have focused on determining, implementing and analysing the policies to be applied in order to contribute their own views to the global community and its issues.

It is necessary to expose the foolish reasons that emerged before 12 March and led a section of Turkish youth to rebel against their own state, and to take the necessary strong and substantive measures accordingly. Otherwise, this national and vital issue cannot be resolved with superficial measures that further complicate the matter. While a segment of the youth betrayed their own state, how and why did the other segment defend the state with a nobility and heroism worthy of their ancestors? Why have children of the same nation, living in the same country and receiving the same education, been driven to the most severe and dangerous conflict between treason and patriotism?

We are pleased to state that the young people defending their homeland, being devoted to the ideal of Turkish nationalism, have neither become tools of imperialism nor raised their heads against the last independent Turkish state.

The high vigilance and self-sacrificing struggle demonstrated by the Turkish nationalist youth against foreign ideologies, the precursors of imperialism, is beyond all praise. It is thanks to their selfless efforts that Turkey has been saved from the brink of disaster. On the path of serving the Turkish Nation, the Nationalist Turkish

## FUNDAMENTAL VIEWS

The youth have been treacherously assassinated by communist gangs, the aircraft of imperialism, and have been martyred. Remembering with mercy the sacred memories of these young martyrs who closed their eyes to the world in the spring of their lives, I offer my gratitude and prayers to their souls.

The victims of nationalist youth face a great misfortune, which is that they have also been met with incomprehension by our governments, which remain under the influence of communist propaganda. For this reason, young people have been and continue to be subjected to constant injustice, oppression and persecution. However the merits of these young people will eventually be fully understood appreciated, we will not lose hope.

Having come to know the nationalist youth closely, I can say with confidence that they are worthy of the trust and affection of our nation. Seeing their alertness, their high sense of duty, and their high morals, I look upon our nation with deep conviction.

### Neglected youth

Youth, which is a source of hope for the present and future of countries and nations, is also the guarantee of a state's continuity. Its importance is great and noble.

It is with regret that we must note that, to date, the issue of youth in our country has not been addressed as a national priority, and no method has been established for serving the youth.

Turkish youth is the sole hope and source of salvation for the future of the Turkish nation. With this view, it is necessary to motivate young people, prepare them, and train them to achieve success in the development of the country.

Until now, the driving force of youth has not been appreciated by those in power, and youth have been left alone and unassisted in a chaotic atmosphere, facing social, economic, political, and technical impossibilities.

The mental and physical health of the youth has been largely neglected. The results produced by goodness, truth, beauty, true ideals and science have not been systematically and the fundamental education of youth has been based on appearances and chance.

The state has failed to fulfil its obligations towards young people. Within a narrow-minded and crude partisan approach, the leadership has been confined to a cell of narrow-minded ideas that are not in the country's best interests. The parties have not viewed youth as a whole and have not chosen to resolve this national problem within their main programmes. They have not considered the harmful consequences that would arise from the influence of foreign ideas and political movements, nor have they taken the necessary measures. As a result, we can say that the education of youth has been inadequate both in terms of society and in terms of quality.

Youth has been targeted for the oppression and exploitation of tired and worn-out adults. However, despite all this, although education is deficient and flawed, the formation of generations is still ahead of that of older generations .

## BASIC VIEWS

Our optimism stems from this. We consider this a cause for joy.

Today, one third of the world's population consists of young people. This figure is even higher in less developed countries, where it accounts for half of the total population. In these countries, young people are grappling with social issues and preparing to play a more active role.

### Our Commitments to Youth

For the Turkish nation to achieve a modern civilisation, we are committed to ensuring that Turkish youth:

a — Possess a rich culture, preserve its unity, and pass it on from generation to generation,

b — Ensuring their intellectual and physical development to the extent necessary in accordance with modern science and life.

To this end:

1 — Cultural and educational institutions must be established and organised in accordance with the principles of efficiency and rationality at the level of science, and their professional and social organisation must be developed in line with the standards of modern nations.

2 — Equal opportunity and access are your unwavering goals.

3 — Social security guarantees must be applied to all young people in the nation.

4 — Free healthcare services should be provided to all young people.

5 — Children and young people should be given special consideration in working conditions.

6 — Educational and cultural facilities should be distributed evenly throughout the country.

University youth must be united around a single ideal, namely: nationalism and Turkish consciousness. Citizens living within the borders of Turkey are, without distinction of origin, religion or sect, the true children of the Turkish Nation.

. Ensuring that they work hand in hand to elevate their homeland and make Turkishness a strong, advanced entity, and to strive towards our united national ideal, is one of the foremost duties of Turkish youth

Moreover, the youth's adoption of nationalist views brings us all many benefits for the good of the country and the nation.

The material situation of university students is poor. The state should cover all their living expenses, clothing, accommodation, and the cost of all their coursework and books.

Scholarships should be expanded with ample opportunities. Furthermore, during university holidays, students should go to the public and the villages, get to know their problems and understand their causes and grievances closely, and even participate in the development of the villages, actively and decisively.

### Turkish sport

Great nations are athletic nations. The Turkish nation has been renowned for its athleticism since ancient times. has been renowned for its athleticism since ancient times.



## BASIC PRINCIPLES

Wrestling, Javelin, Archery, s-Akan and Tomas games, and Binieilik are among our national sports that have made history. However, today the importance of sport in the life of a nation seems to be misunderstood in Turkey. It would be appropriate to hold our statesmen and administrators responsible for this. The healthy, courageous and talented development of Turkish youth is something that can be achieved through sport. Improving the health of our people and increasing their physical strength, as well as developing their mental strength, is possible through the organisation and promotion of sport.

For years, athletics has been a means of livelihood and a path to profiteering in our country. As a result, unskilled and poorly trained athletes sent to international competitions cast a shadow over the honour of our nation. The results achieved by our athletes in international competitions and their behaviour there, which is contrary to Turkish manners and sportsmanship, have caused deep sorrow to all citizens. Governments must be protected from using the Ministry of Sport and Youth for partisan purposes. Attention must be paid to sports education, and sports must be rescued from the hands of profiteers and entrusted to genuine sports personnel who prioritise the health and honour of the nation above all else.



## MİLLÎ İDARE — GÜÇLÜ İKTİDAR



## NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

### Organisational Nation

The Nation has two great characteristics. These are:

*"Eşli?itçz Mı/7et" and "ûsit8T 3'fûfiet"* are characters. Various. To say that the nation is organised means that the Turkish Nation possesses the ability and superiority to establish a state. Indeed, there is no other nation in the world that possesses the ability to establish a state as great and superior as the Turkish Nation. The 16 great empires established throughout history are the most definitive proof of our nation's exceptional ability to establish superior states. In the face of this definitive historical evidence, the Turkish Nation's establishment of the Republic of Turkey is the most definitive proof of its exceptional ability to

is the clearest proof of our nation's superiority in state-building. In light of this indisputable historical evidence, there should be no doubt that our nation will make the Republic of Turkey one of the most superior and great states of tomorrow. Our nation possesses every element of creativity in its organisational (founding) nature. Among these, we must especially mention our characteristic of creating culture and civilisation. I firmly believe that tomorrow's strong and nationalist Turkey will be one of the modern civilised nations. The defining character of the Turkish Nation is that it is a Soldier-Nation. The aim of the military nation is to be a disciplined, courageous and heroic nation. History is replete with countless examples of this characteristic of our nation. Essentially, it is the aspiration to grow and become a world power.

## MİLLÎ İDARE — GÜÇLÜ İKTİDAR

Our greatest guarantee is our character as a nation of soldiers, a brave and heroic nation. The day we achieve spiritual and economic development, we will undoubtedly take our place in world politics. . We believe this with all our hearts. Essentially, this is our natural right and our historical mission.

### Unorganised Turkey

Turkish society is in a state of disorganisation. Our traditional rights were organised through foundations, guilds and ahî organisations and were organised from an economic perspective. As no new organisations have been established to replace these defunct ones, a state of disorganisation persists.

Unless Turkey is organised in terms of possibility, the validity of the system that is claimed to have been established will always be a matter of debate. In order to save Turkey from the clutches of communist subversion and to bring the Turkish people to the prosperity they deserve, to put them in a secure position, it is essential to establish a social organisation that encompasses the entire Turkish people. I firmly believe that social activities and mutual aid will be of great benefit to us.

Due to our people's lack of social and economic organisations, **we encounter** very painful situations every day. Our people **are in a state** of utter despair, deprived of protection, support and assistance, as if abandoned to fate.

This situation must come to an end. A Social Security Organisation encompassing all Turkish citizens must be established.

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

Production and consumption cooperatives must be established to rescue the people from the hands of moneylenders and, especially in the field of agriculture, to increase production. Small civil servants, tradesmen and artisans must be rescued from hardship and distress and encouraged to provide productive service. Measures must be taken to ensure their welfare, and solid foundations must be laid for the prosperity of the people. These groups, which are the solid foundations of the economy, must be provided with •

The organisation of Gens and its involvement in national development are essential. Particularly during holiday months, their involvement in voluntary services should be considered.

### National administration system

The Turkish people are being forced to endure the burden of intellectual movements. Some individuals have taken advantage of this, defended the systems of foreign nations, and worked towards this end. Some have risen to power and caused harmful events. For example, during their time, enlightened figures such as Ziya Pasha and Namık Kemal worked to establish constitutional rule in our country, as was the case in France. However, without taking into account our history, our traditions, our beliefs, and the conditions of the day, this system was copied, which hastened the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

Everything must be suitable for us, suitable for our national structure. Anything outside this idea, any other idea, must be discarded, must be rejected.

It must not be forgotten that nations are like human beings. Just as a human being cannot live without a heart, a brain, and blood, nations cannot live without a heart, a brain, and blood.

## MİLLÎ İDARE — GÜÇLÜ İKTİDAR

The heart of a nation is its culture; its brain is its political **organisation**; its blood is its economy. According to medical science, a human heart and brain can be transplanted into another person, but long-term survival cannot be guaranteed, as the body rejects it. If the simplest of living beings cannot survive with the organs of another, how can one nation survive with the culture, economy, and politics of another? Unfortunately, this simple truth has remained unrecognised for years. Turkish culture, the Turkish economic **and political** systems have been discarded, replaced by the cultures, economic and political systems of others. Meanwhile, it has somehow failed to be realised that it is a nation's own system that develops it. Nations do not develop with foreign systems.

The Nationalist Movement arose from the necessity of establishing a great, faithful, and prosperous Turkey. The foundation of this great state is a nationalist doctrine based on Turkish culture and Turkish economic and political understanding. The foundation of the state we will establish will be our national culture. National culture is a nation's way of life. National culture is the sum of values that have emerged over centuries from the interactions between the members of a nation. National culture encompasses refers to a nation's religion, morals, laws, customs, language, and art. It is regrettable to note that today, one of these institutions . This is because they have been replaced by the cultural institutions of European nations. These institutions are based on the religious, moral, legal and political ideas of European people. The religion of European nations is Christianity; their morality is materialism; their legal and political systems are based on individualism. However, the religion of the Turks is Islam, the most perfect of religions; their morality is the virtue and excellence of Islam. The law applied today is also



## TEMEL GÖRÜŞLER

far from being Turkish law. This law has been taken from Switzerland, Germany or Italy. **Likewise**, our education system is entirely under the domination of foreign cultures.

As a result, our intellectuals, our children with their parents, our imams and teachers have been brought to a state where they defend each other's cultures. In order to save ourselves from extinction, we must embrace our national culture anew and cling to it. This culture is the Great Turkish Culture, embellished by Islamic philosophy and shaped by Turkish history. For this reason, our government will implement a national cultural policy and will thoroughly Turkify and nationalise cultural institutions.

The second fundamental pillar of the nationalist movement is political nationalism. Our political nationalism is a great, independent Turkey in relation to the outside world, and National Democracy within.

Today, liberal democracy brought about by liberal capitalism is practised in Turkey. In contrast, Marxist socialists seek to establish class democracy. The roots of both liberal democracy and Marxist democracy lie outside Turkey. Liberal democracy is a political regime born of European industrial capitalism. Its aim

protect the a s. Liberal democracy is a class democracy because it protects only the bosses among the groups that make up the nation. Social Democracy, defended by those who call themselves centre-left, is a democracy with its roots in Europe. It is essentially based on capitalist capitalism and envisages appeasing workers with inadequate social policy measures. In fact, social democracy is a class democracy of patrons. Communist

## ID B- STRONG POWER

xe}lmier The so-called system of Marxist democracy is also a class democracy. It seeks to protect the interests of a fictitious working class. However, in reality, it protects not the working class, but a handful of Communist Party members.

The National Movement's understanding of democracy is National Democracy. The state we established has never been a "state of the few". The nation is not merely composed of employers or workers. Within the nation, there are also peasants, civil servants, tradesmen, and other groups besides employers and workers. In national democracy, all these groups that make up the nation, namely employers, workers, peasants, civil servants, tradesmen, and members of the liberal professions, are one. It is protected in this way. In a national democracy, sovereignty belongs not only to the employer or the working class, but to the entire nation.

The Nationalist Movement is our foundation and our principles. *The foundation of the Nationalist Movement Party is based on the European fibre and socialist ideology, and it will continue to be so until the day it is dissolved, with its institutions functioning as they are.* In this context, instead of a parliamentary system of government *Presidential* system. In this system, the powers of the Presidency and the Prime Ministry will be concentrated in a single person, creating a government based on authority, trust, and discipline . We will change and rebuild the other institutions of national democracy, especially TRT, the Constitutional Court, the Council of State, the Court of Cassation, the University, and the High Council of Judges, in accordance with our national interests and security. We will completely abolish not only the Senate, but also abolish the Senate institution entirely. Thus, this great nation will be divided into classes and interest groups, and the class...

I will put an end to their mockery and, as the State, I will Turkishise and nationalise democracy and the constitution.

### **Alienation and Turkish state philosophy**

The Turkish Nation is an honourable member of the family of nations. The Turkish Nation has a great, rich history and state philosophy worthy of pride. The Turkish Nation has high ideals, cultural superiority . Throughout its history and across the continent, the Turkish Nation has established powerful states. In establishing these states, the Turkish Nation has always relied on its own state philosophy and its own unique culture. . has established powerful states throughout its history and across the continent. In establishing these states, the Turkish Nation has always drawn upon its own state philosophy and its own unique culture. has been inspired. However, for 200 years, our nation and our state philosophy have suffered from certain weaknesses. The reason for this is our distancing ourselves from our own national culture and state philosophy, and our exposure to the invasion of foreign cultures and movements. This alienation in state philosophy and culture has distanced institutions from the national ideal, and the Turkish nation has become an underdeveloped country in terms of its national values. It is natural for a nation that has strayed from its national ideal and become alienated from its national culture to be underdeveloped and backward. Over the past decade, our country has witnessed anarchism communism, separatism sectarianism and

»+ The reasons for sabotage, which destroys national wealth, and arson are the cultivation of generations alien to national ideals and culture. The intention to destroy the unity of the homeland and the nation, to dismantle the last independent state, and to bind it to communist imperialism is the culmination of a rootless, soulless philosophy that has been cultivated for over 200 years.

## NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION — STRONG GOVERNMENT

The development and shaping of human personality is possible in free and democratic regimes. Regimes that are not free and democratic are contrary to human personality. In these regimes, people are not respected. There is no love for humanity. The Nationalist Movement is about loving and respecting the Turkish people and wanting them to flourish. For this reason, I am opposed to all regimes that are hostile to a free and democratic order; I do not believe in them.

The Nationalist Movement sees the path of governance and destiny of the Turkish nation and the Turkish people in a democratic system. I do not believe in systems that deny rights to the whole of the people. Our national doctrine points to a new path for our nation, one based on love for humanity and infinite respect for human dignity. The fundamental source of this path is the Islamic faith and Turkish consciousness and pride. The torch of the Great Turkey, which will rise like a new sun on the horizon of the world, has been lit.

## National integration — National democracy

The Turkish Nation's ability to rebuild its great, powerful and developed state depends on its return to its own culture and state philosophy. The day the Turkish Nation frees itself from the domination of foreign influences and returns to its own state philosophy, it will regain its status as a great state and take its rightful place among the nations of the world. The only political organisation that defends Turkish national culture and state philosophy and makes it the basis of its own understanding and programme is the Nationalist Movement Party. Turkish nationalism with the Nationalist Movement Party

has, for the first time in history, become the programme

an

d worldview.

Turkish illness's culture and state philosophy, within the framework of Turkish nationalism, is the ideal of a united, democratic state. In the history and traditions of the Turkish nation, there is no division, fragmentation, or separation into groups or classes. The head of state shares the same fate as the nation he leads in times of peace and war, sorrow and joy. fate . Systems and ideologies that divide the nation into classes or groups, oppress one class over another, and teach rulers to look down on the nation and divisive ideologies. The philosophy of the Turkish state is based on the principle of national unity and *the ideal* of a united nation. . Democracy, in its narrowest sense, means the sovereignty of the nation. Democracy is the participation of the nation in political, cultural and economic governance, and the fact that political, cultural and economic sovereignty belong to the nation.

It should be emphasised here that the concept of nation is not an abstract one. The nation is neither, as capitalists claim, a mere collection of individuals, nor, as in communism, solely the members of the Communist Party. The nation is an entity. The current composition of the nation consists of six social strata: the poor, *the workers*, the tradesmen, *the civil servants*, *the employers*, and *the self-employed*. In this respect, a country and a system where sovereignty belongs only to the employer or the state is not democratic. For a country to be truly democratic, the participation of the nation: peasants, workers, tradesmen, civil servants, employers, and the self-employed best employees.

## Political democracy

There is a very close relationship between democracy and the celebration of freedom. Democracy, in a general sense, means good will. Good will means that one person does not take orders from another.

.the ability to make decisions according to one's own will and to act freely. A person under the pressure and influence of others is not free.

*Political* democracy is a regime of political freedoms.

.sî detnokrosî is the equal participation of all members of the nation in the political management

.me, and political decisions. Citizens participate in political decision-making by electing and being elected to political bodies. Parliament is at the head of political bodies. Parliament is the

.sî representative body, therefore, to speak of true political democracy, all social segments that constitute the nation must be represented in parliament; ltöylün . employers, and the self-employed

## The political organisation of the people

According to Marxist and capitalist political theory, society is divided into two antagonistic classes. These are the so-called working class and the capitalist class. In capitalist political theory, political decisions are made solely or mostly by the capitalist class. In this theory, the nation is represented in parliament by the capitalist class and its bureaucrats. According to capitalism, the nation consists of the bourgeoisie. However, as mentioned above, the nation, bourgeoisie

## BASIC VIEW

(capitalist) classes, but also encompasses other social strata. • •s•\* we are. Therefore, according to capitalist political theory, political democracy is not National Democracy, but only capitalist class democracy. Marxist political theory is also based solely on a so-called working class, so in this system, the parliament is also composed solely of members of the Communist Party. Consequently, here too, instead of national democracy, we have the dictatorship of the Communist Party.

Nationalist political theory views the nation as a whole composed of six social strata. Accordingly, it envisages national representation in parliament as comprising representatives of these six social strata. Here, the parliament is neither solely the organ of the capitalist class nor solely that of the so-called working class. The parliament is the organ of the entire nation. For this reason, in order to achieve political democracy and integration, the nationalist movement *insists that* a certain number of peasant representatives, *including workers, artisans, and merchants, be elected* to parliament. When the representatives of the six social strata enter parliament, the *KÖTk* iutlfeti *becomes* a unified whole, and *the political institutions* become stable and the political s i t u a t i o n becomes secure.

### Democratic nationalist state

A Democratic Nationalist State is one in which people belonging to the same nation are organised politically and legally to govern themselves (national democracy) and to control their own economic resources (national economy); externally, it is a state that has equal rights with other nations.

## MİLLÎ İDARE — GÜÇLÜ İKTİDAR

The term "national state" thus acquires a legal character. In a Democratic Nationalist State, the individuals and social groups that constitute the nation determine their own destiny and participate effectively in the administration of the state. This phenomenon is called the democratic element of the state (national democracy). Every individual contributes to the formation of political power, particularly the legislature and the executive. Nations have the right to be independent in their own administration and to freely determine their own future. This is the internal form of national sovereignty. In the National State, the external form of sovereignty is that the state is equal to other states and does not remain under their pressure and influence. This is called national independence.

**It is granted.** External sovereignty is based on the principle of equality among states in the international community. One state cannot interfere with another state that is equal and independent.

The Democratic Nationalist State is based not only on the political destiny of nations, but also on their economic destiny. In this sense, the National State is a state based on the national economy, which has nationalised its economy. In order to be a Democratic Nationalist State, the state must rely on the resources and strengths of the national community. National independence and national democracy can only be achieved through the development and strengthening of national power and economic national strength.

it can be understood. The term "national power" in the phrase "a state relying on its own national power" refers to national economy and national defence power. A national state is a form of state that has united and mobilised its national power in order to protect and maintain its own existence against external threats. The most essential condition for a national state is its own economic

resources and power to preserve and maintain its existence.



#### **BASIC PRINCIPLES**

. A state based on national power requires, in principle, an economy that is self-sufficient and capable of sustaining its own existence. A state that is dependent on foreign economies cannot be national. A state that is completely dependent on foreign economies

It is impossible for a dependent state to be independent in its foreign and domestic policies. For this reason, the national state must not allow itself to be exploited by foreign powers; it must complete its development using its own internal resources and develop its economy.

The Democratic Nationalist State aims to ensure the economic and moral development of all individuals and social segments of the nation. The state must achieve this goal in its activities. A state that prioritises the interests of an individual or a particular class, based on the dictates of that individual or class, cannot be a national state. The national state is a state of service and welfare based on the nation; it must serve all members of the nation and realise their welfare.

## STRONG POWER

### Single president — Single parliament system

Milliyet The Movement defends a system of a single leader and a single *parliament*. Our era is one of strong, fair and swift execution. When the Turkish Nation established world empires, it implemented a system of swift and decisive execution. Strong and swift execution is possible only when executive power is concentrated in a single hand. For this reason in accordance with our history and traditions, we defend the principle of a *single* executive. We cannot divide the executive into the Presidency and the Prime Ministry. Since we are integrative in every respect, we must also be integrative at the head of the executive. In the philosophy and history of Turkish history, there has never been an orientation, that is, it has always been carried out by a single *executive*. Nationalism in Turkey is also Democratic National Republic principle, the President will be the sole head of the executive organ of the Turkish Nation.

In line with the single-president system, we also advocate the parliamentary system in terms of the legislative body. We want the Senate, which is a legacy of European monarchies or federal state regimes, to be abolished because it delays legislative work alongside the National Assembly.

The existence of political democracy is the foundation of true democracy.

## TRMELGÖRÜŞİAR

is not sufficient for the existence of true democracy. In order to speak of true democracy in a country, economic democracy, which complements political democracy, must also be established. Economic democracy is the ability of a nation to freely vote on economic issues and to participate equally in the economic decisions of the country.

If, in a country, social strata cannot participate equally and freely in economic decision-making and cannot vote, then there is no economic democracy in that country. The existence of economic democracy depends on the social strata that make up the nation owning the means of production, participating in profits, losses and management. From this perspective, there is a false relationship between the concepts of economic , freedom and democracy on the one hand, and ownership and management on the other.

### Reform and reformism

The origins of the turmoil and upheaval Turkey finds itself in today date back two centuries. Ever since the changing and evolving new conditions of our era made it impossible for the Ottoman Empire to maintain its is , and power, a period of rapid decline began. The cadres in control of the country's administration, with few exceptions, failed to prevent this downward spiral into crisis. In our view, the leading culprits responsible for Turkey's current miserable, powerless, and fragmented state are the political cadres who came to power. At the end of the War of Independence, the revival and strengthening that began with the "spirit of the National Forces"

#### ADMINISTRATION - POWERFUL GOVERNMENT

could not be achieved. Many *states that* entered two world wars and saw their lands trampled underfoot, their homelands turned to ruins, have now left Turkey, which did not enter the war, far behind.

To overcome this situation and restore peace and tranquillity, it is essential that six reforms be implemented within a short period of time. These are:

- 1) Reform of national culture, morality and spirituality (National Education Reform)
- 2) \*s\*/maî reform
- 3) Administrative reform
- 4) Industrial reform
- 5) Agricultural and land reform
- 6) Economic and financial reform.

Generations are deprived of national culture, neglected in terms of faith and spirituality, and it is impossible for a society with weak morals to live in peace.

The aim of social reform is the fair distribution of the burdens and benefits borne by the people according to merit and ability. It should be noted: not equally, but fairly... If this is not done, merits will not be apparent, and the ability to work will fade. To reiterate, the qualities to be considered in social justice are merit, competence, and diligence.

The aim of administrative reform is to restructure state enterprises that have become bureaucratic, to abandon paperwork, and to bring services to the people.

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

The aim of industrial reform is to produce the tools and equipment needed by the people and to ensure that more profit is made from the work done.

Agricultural and land reform, on the other hand, aims to transfer the surplus population from agriculture to industry, prepare the ground for modern agricultural management, regulate land distribution, and, in short, resolve this issue through the "Agricultural Towns" project.

The aim of financial and economic reform is to prevent tax evasion, which amounts to large sums in domestic and foreign trade, to put an end to black market activities, usury and all kinds of speculative activities, and to regulate business life within the framework of service, security, stability and business ethics.

### The fathers of reform

Administrators have fallen into a state of paralysis. To see how Turkey finds itself in a state of stagnation and strife, one need only recall the topics of debate over the last 15 to 20 years. Those who lack a vision and conviction regarding the country's main issues have focused their attention on a series of "myths" they have created; all kinds of conflicts and debates have centred around these "myths". The series of reforms exemplifies the nature of these myths. Reforms gain meaning and significance through the political personnel who implement them. Failure, the existence of the horizon, the inability to keep abreast of events at home and abroad due to sterile daily squabbles, and the fact that politically experienced cadres are in charge during this period, "Reform", wJucılık

## MILLÎ İDARE — GÜÇLÜ İKTİDAR

The situation has not changed. In fact, the Civil Servants Act has been amended to establish a personnel regime. Arbitrariness and injustice have dealt a heavy blow to public service. The situation is the same with land reform. Today, Turkey's land dispute is based on: 1 — The fact that our agricultural land is not sufficient for our agricultural population, 2 — Low productivity in the agricultural sector. The only solution to this problem is a consistent and long-term policy that transfers the population from the land to industry and increases the productivity of the land through fundamental measures such as irrigation, fertilisation and mechanisation. However, governments are resorting to temporary, delaying and artificial solutions. The Land and Agricultural Reform Act, 5, § 9 is being implemented gradually.

will be finalised. Ultimately, around 500,000 landless No one will be buried in the ground. Eu application's is estimated to cost 90 billion Turkish Liras. . That is nearly double the current state budget. Of the 22 million people working the land, only 500,000 will be affected by the EU law, which will cost 90 billion TL. Within five or six years, the effects of this law will be completely lost due to population growth and fragmentation through inheritance. A reform of this kind is not only impossible to implement in practice, but also

It is also very far from being fundamentally reforming the land issue. Other reform issues are exactly the same. Under the name of National Education Reform, certain changes should be made every year. Various ministers have come and gone over the years, but none have made any effort to reform education in accordance with the goals of "*reforming education and* meeting the needs of the nation". In the field of national education, it is necessary to reorganise the subjects taught in every respect.

## TEMEL GÖRÜŞLER

. The armed communist uprisings of recent years have unequivocally demonstrated the inadequacy and shortcomings of education in schools. But where are the political leaders who have learned from this and are working to resolve the issue at its root?

The political leadership governing Turkey, with its incompetence, narrow-mindedness, and tendency to regard trivial, temporary issues as matters of primary importance, has not only failed to halt the decline that began two centuries ago but has also given rise to new problems. Turkey is in a backward state economically. The inability to find a way out of the crisis has led to political instability and uncertainty. Our national fabric has been undermined by insidious propaganda. has been

. Citizens are distrustful of one another and... They no longer have confidence in tomorrow. Citizens are now unable to determine which political factions to align themselves with. Everyone is in a state of uncertainty. Our cultural and spiritual existence is characterised by defeat, exhaustion and hopelessness. Those who bear political responsibility are foremost among those who have brought citizens to this state of mind. None of the issues discussed in parliament, which are dominated by petty and destructive disputes none of the topics of debate are of any substance. In an environment where party interests and personal struggles take precedence, it has become impossible to make sound decisions for the good of the country.

## Reforms and national integration

The fundamental principles of the Turkish state philosophy and the Constitution

The essence is national unity.

First, the "three principles" set out in the preamble to the Constitution were defined in the Government Programmes, but no principles or strategies were presented to achieve this ideal. The moral and socio-psychological element of national unity

"Mıftî Ülkü" and "Mıftî Jwrdur" The dynamite core of the national ideal and national consciousness is national culture, or in other words, " " biiftür bü-

Education has a very important role to play in terms of cultural integration. Educational reforms are important in this regard. Higher education is the natural school of national consciousness and economic development.

The Nationalist Movement advocates a "vertical" approach in education policy,

It advocates "horizontal education". Vertical education produces an elite. This elite is the state's nationalist idealist, research-oriented, and scholarly cadre. A nation that has not cultivated its own national elite, its scholarly and idealist intellectual cadre, and its technicians cannot achieve development, existence continue. European countries, America, and even Russia developed by first cultivating their national elite and continue to do so. One of the most important reasons why our country underdeveloped and undeveloped state is largely due to the failure of those in power to adopt a "national elite" policy. The Bilingual Movement advocates "vertical education" alongside

It also attaches importance to "horizontal education". Through this education, our entire nation—our villagers, workers, and tradespeople—becomes united with the national ideal.

Reforms aimed at our economic development are sufficient.



## BASIC PERSPECTIVE

It is not. The basis of economic development is industrial development. It is impossible for a state that has not achieved capital accumulation to possess the characteristics of a democratic national social state. If this is understood, it is clear that the issues of savings and investment, the two fundamental elements of development, have not been given sufficient attention in the reforms. In a society where capital dominates labour in the production process, class division arises, not integration. Economic democracy is essential for establishing national peace and balance between labour and capital. Granting political participation to those who cannot make economic decisions is nothing more than a formal democracy. To prevent labour from being exploited by capital and capital from being exploited by labour, reforms are needed that will enable workers to participate in the ownership and management of the workplace, sharing in its profits and losses.

## Conclusion

One of the things that has been memorised is the phrase "Reform". Reform is necessary. Regulations must be implemented in administration, the judiciary, agriculture, society, trade and industry, but the fundamental condition, the main principle and the sole objective must be as follows: *for f'ürR, according to the Turk, by the Turk... If it is based on principles such as "Europe will approve, activists will rejoice, merchants will be crushed"* such principles based on a sense of inferiority, fear, and compromise, and the pursuit of class interests, the result will only be anarchy, suffering, and collapse.

## Strong governance

In addition to the economic, social and spiritual crises prevailing in our country, there is also a crisis of authority that is becoming more apparent with each passing day. It is clear that before 12 March, there was no such thing as authority in our country. The occasional emergence of authority and discipline has led to irreparable damage. A national state must have a strong authority. In a country where there is no national state, there are weak authorities ( &st) ü bir. söz

It is impossible. A nation state is a state that is independent in its internal and external relations. The state's sovereignty means that it has supreme authority over the country and can issue orders without taking orders from anyone. Today, it is a fact that there are certain circumstances that limit the internal sovereignty and national independence of my state. The fundamental condition of nationalism is to work for the independence of one's nation. No one who does not fight for the independence of their nation

is never a nationalist and cannot be one.

The division of the executive power of the national state into two parts is extremely detrimental in terms of weakening authority. In light of these realities, we are determined and resolved to unite the President and the Prime Minister under the title of Head of State and to make the owner of the executive organ a single person. If our view, which you call the "presidential system," is realised, the Head of State will be elected by the people themselves through a referendum. This will ensure that the people participate in the management of the country and are directly involved in decisions on matters that concern them.

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

democracy will be established. It is widely acknowledged that we are in an era of strong executive power, and that this situation is of great importance for less developed countries such as Turkey. Development requires swift and bold decisions. A government that listens to the people in a democratic manner will be able to take such decisions easily.

As Nationalist Movement Party members ( ), we have repeatedly stated that replacing the current bicameral system with a "Single Chamber System," abolishing the Senate, and establishing a National Assembly consisting of 300 members would be the most beneficial situation for our country.

rescued from the situation of conservatism and obstructionism and be reorganised according to the needs and conditions of the national community is only possible through this process. developed countries, being in a state of balanced development, urgently need a legislative body that can pass laws swiftly and efficiently. in Turkey, the establishment of a single president and a single parliament system is an absolute necessity for the establishment of a referendum institution that will determine the public's opinion on issues of concern to the broad masses. It is impossible to justify the feeding of more than 600 deputies in two parliaments with the income of a poor nation is beyond measure. The Nationalist Movement will, as its ninth principle, establish a single 300-member parliament composed of peasants, tradesmen, civil servants, employers and professionals as a first step, ending the crisis of authority in our country and enabling rapid progress in the economic sphere. Thus, the Nationalist Movement, which will solidify the theory of a national state and strong government, will also guarantee the establishment and strengthening of national democracy.

## Constitutional amendment

Three main issues must be taken into consideration in the constitutional amendments to be made.

The first issue is that the principle of nationalism should be enshrined in the Constitution. As is well known, the 1924 Constitution adopted "ZilfiyefçiiR" as its fundamental principle, which was the founding philosophy of our state. This principle was incorporated into the Constitution by order of Atatürk.

Those who constantly profess their respect for Atatürk's reforms have, for some reason, forgotten the principle of "nationalism," which constitutes the essence of Atatürk's ideas. During the drafting of the 1961 Constitution, under the influence of circles hostile to our state, the word "3ilî" was used instead of the principle of nationalism, and the principle expressing the power of the Turkish Nation was removed from the Constitution.

In this era of accelerating modernisation and competition between nations, our world is experiencing a period of nationalism.

As the Nationalist Movement, we will proceed from these realities and see it as our duty to ensure that the principle of "Nationalism" is incorporated into the new Constitution in a manner that leaves no room for doubt.

The principle of nationalism, which is progressive, developmental and uplifting, is the fundamental source of our state. The Turkish Constitution must regulate the principles of Turkish Nationalism. Our nation is immortal as long as it is nationalistic.

The second issue is that the institution of referendum should be included in our Constitution. In matters of vital importance, the people should be consulted directly.

## DIRECTLY CONSULT

to the people and draw fresh strength from the people.

The main issue is the abolition of the Senate and the reduction of the number of members of parliament. There is no need for a second chamber consisting of senators in Turkey. Furthermore, a parliament consisting of 450 members is excessive. Therefore, the Senate should be abolished and a parliament consisting of 100 members should be established.

## Nationalist movement

The National Movement, with the philosophy outlined above, ensures *national* unity in every field, particularly in law, economics, politics and social policy, and establishes the national democracy that is the greatest model of democracy, . Ultimately, this will make the Turkish nation, with all its ethnic and social segments, sovereign, free and prosperous. The Nationalist Movement firmly believes in a multi-party political system. In a country where different political and economic ideas cannot be defended, a totalitarian regime, especially a communist, fascist or Nazi regime, is in place. In our view, capitalist and socialist systems are also constitutional.

These systems are contrary to our very essence. For these systems are based, politically and economically, on the domination of one class over another. Our Constitution has categorically rejected class domination.

. Since the fundamental nature of our state, which is a democratic republic, is based on the principle of *secularism*, the exercise of political and economic domination is only possible in name.

to the monopoly of a single class or a "strength of the state," are anti-democratic systems.

In Turkey, political powers have always been under the influence of a limited minority that has never embraced all segments of society. To date, the parties that have held power in our country and their political philosophies have been capitalist-oriented, which is why Turkey has remained an underdeveloped country. As long as these parties remain in power, the development of our country is impossible. Capitalist-leaning parties are weak and powerless in government, particularly because they are deficient and inadequate in economic and social terms and cannot meet the needs of the masses.

As a result, the people are deprived of their support and assistance. Consequently, extra-parliamentary opposition emerges, and the streets, educational institutions, and other public spaces become sources of anarchy. In such situations, these parties make frivolous statements such as "There is a bit of anarchy in every democracy" and "Walking does not wear out the streets" to cover up their weaknesses. However, the real reason is that they are not nationalist and do not represent the nation as a whole.

Our goal is to establish *DetmOhî'dt2/c* Zfiltiyelçi Z'ürkiye. This path is arduous, this cause is sacred, this ideal is the ideal of Jürklük. The flag of our ideal has been raised, its torch has been lit.

**MİLLÎ** DEVELOPMENT AND NATIONAL  
ECONOMIC POLICY





## NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

### Our fundamental issue

The issue facing Turkey today is that of industrialisation. Our nation has made its choice and reached its decision. This decision is to become an independent industrial nation in a very short time and to establish a great nationalist Turkey. The greatest aspiration of our nation is to become an economically strong, developed, and prosperous Turkey. A national administration is one that understands economic development and is able to make choices in this regard. It is not possible for our nation to develop with just a few reform measures. Development is a process based on industry and industrialisation. Today, we are not implementing a reform and programme that will enable our nation to industrialise in the short term. In this day and age, it is impossible for a country that has not established a national industry to survive and maintain its independence. While the world's major economies are establishing the latest technologies and the newest industrial facilities, our stagnation poses a threat to our future. Our nation, which has been a great nation throughout history, rightly desires to grow today. It is an unavoidable national duty to fulfil the nation's desire for economic growth.

Time is passing.

Our institution was established in 1048 by the blessed hands of the great Marshal Evzi Şakmak and has rendered valuable services to the country to this day. During the period from 1948 to the present, the country's main issues have not been resolved in a healthy manner, and increasing needs have not been met.

Responsible administrators have succeeded in distracting our intellectuals, youth, and people by presenting the slow and presenting necessary developments as major advances, have succeeded in distracting our intellectuals, our youth, and our people.

The deception of our people may have benefited those in power, but there has been no change in the bitter realities we face as a nation.

Responsible politicians have been presenting figures to substantiate their view that significant milestones have been achieved in Turkey over the years.

The only question we can ask them is: 25-50 year

First, has the gap between the standard of living and pace of development in developed countries and that of Turkey narrowed today? Or has it widened? Twenty-five to fifty years ago, developed countries had the speed of aeroplanes, while Turkey had the speed of horse-drawn carriages. Today, they are at rocket speed, while we have only reached train speed.

In short, the gap between us and developed countries has not decreased.

Our country possesses all the means necessary to achieve national development. Our underground and surface resources, as well as our human resources, are more than sufficient.

Administrations should make decisions according to the preferences of the people. Our nation has expressed its preference for growth and the completion of its economic development. We must abandon misguided economic policies and adopt a national economic policy that meets the needs of our country. This economic policy must be one that secures our economic independence and creates a structure capable of exporting industrial products abroad. This requires prioritising domestic investments.

To realise these investments, priority must be given to all types of savings, and citizens' desire to save must be encouraged. A country whose savings and development do not rely on national resources cannot claim independence.

and the citizens' desire to save must be encouraged. A country whose savings and development do not rely on national resources cannot claim independence. The first condition necessary for the establishment of an independent industry is the establishment of a machine manufacturing industry. Indeed, a country's ability to achieve or maintain economic independence depends on its ability to establish a machine manufacturing industry. In addition to the machine manufacturing industry, importance must also be given to the metallurgical industry, the petrochemical industry, and the energy production industry. It is impossible for a country that has not established a national industry to reach the level of modern civilisation. However, the great Turkish nation has left its mark on every era and has earned its place in every age. This is evident in its rich history, great culture and lineage.

The rapid establishment of our national industry will also provide a solution to our employment problem. Today, in our country, and a hidden army of unemployed people. The fact that a large portion of the country's population is unemployed is an obstacle to establishing national peace and tranquillity. The most important way to eliminate unemployment is the establishment of national industrial sectors.

## MİLLÎ KALKINMA VE MİLLÎ İKTİSAT SİYASETİ

This will create new workplaces, which will absorb the population and provide them with employment opportunities. If we eliminate unemployment, we must also focus on infrastructure investments alongside small facilities. We must utilise idle labour in the construction of major roads, bridges, ports, and dams.

It is impossible for a country that has not built its infrastructure (facilities) to make investments in its higher economic structure. In this way, while on the one hand transforming the army of hidden and open unemployed into a service army and contributing to our national development, on the other hand, the homeland, which has gained purchasing power, will...

\*a9°• 'u• b•=sq&gt;they will find opportunities for employment. Today in our country, actual and hidden unemployment reaches 10 million in some seasons. This means that in some months

(19 million people are unemployed in our country.                      these unemployed

people should be united in a service corps and employed in the country's

&gt;•ı\*'m&lt;' \*s» is the only national employment policy.

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### The development of nations

The rise, development, and expansion of nations depend above all on their ability to preserve their existence and continue their existence. Being useful both for themselves and for the human family is only possible by acquiring and realising goodness, beauty, and freedom.

Civilisations have always sought to achieve the better, the more perfect, and to liberate themselves from the captivity of natural forces, desiring to grant them freedom. From his father,    doş-

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

. It is necessary to propel the Turkish nation rapidly through the ages and reach the atomic and space age as soon as possible, and to surpass other nations. The source of strength that will achieve this is the Turkish national spirit and sentiment. It is the Turkish nation's profound sense of its own identity and turn inward.

The first condition for the liberation and development of a nation is the establishment of unity and internal security. \*s unity and • It is necessary to be vigilant and intolerant towards any disruptive activities directed against unity.

The Turkish nation must be rescued from its current dire situation as soon as possible. Putting aside a set of showy, fanciful ideas and actions, it is necessary to mobilise for scientific and technical progress. It is imperative to halt and develop its aeroplanes, lorries and buses, ships, tractors tractors and agricultural machinery, missiles, nuclear plants, in short, everything that modern countries are competing for, must be developed and improved. The ability to build more modern and more useful facilities ensures the power and superiority of nations over each other. The Turkish nation must acquire these capabilities as soon as possible. Development initiatives undertaken in Turkey to date have been ineffective. This is because the wrong strategy has been used in investments.

It is necessary to establish research laboratories to cultivate high-quality scientific and technical personnel and to use heavy industry, namely the main industries (iron and steel factories, energy sources, transport facilities)

has not been done. Instead, the focus has been on constructing ostentatious buildings,

waterworks, and diverting resources towards other light industries.

Industrialisation is a matter of science and technology. Turkish Dev-  
The advancement of our country to the level of contemporary societies is  
only possible through the application of the most modern and latest  
technology to industry. We can only close the terrifying gap between us  
and developed countries in a short time.

The only condition for t h i s is the initiation of an extraordinary  
mobilisation effort, with a cadre of patriotic and idealistic intellectuals  
dominating state positions instead of bureaucrats and those in power.

Great importance must be attached to science and scientific  
research. The scientists and technocrats needed by the country must be  
identified, and an education system appropriate to this goal must be  
implemented in place of the current chaotic system. Science and  
technology must be given priority in a direction that is productive and  
research-oriented.

The education system should be reorganised in line with the  
country's priorities and development goals. With such an education, the  
productive, research-oriented minds that will be nurtured should be  
provided with the status they deserve, taking centre stage in our  
development, without being forced to leave the country. The exploitation  
and export of brains must come to an end.

This national elite, whom we can call *the* "Brain or Managerial  
*Elite*," consisting of nationalists, idealists, researchers, and scientists  
trained through special education, will be the cornerstone of our  
development.

Otherwise, it will be impossible to continue the nation's progress,  
development, and existence.

6continue.

## THE FOUNDATION OF DEVELOPMENT FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES

### Westernisation did not emerge

Now, I shall address a fundamental issue facing our country, one that we have been unable to resolve despite our great efforts and countless sacrifices: As you know, Turkey has been suffering the pain of backwardness for two hundred years and yearning for an era of progress. We have endured everything for this cause, even accepting a situation that is contrary to our historical tradition. So much so that, in order to prevent its collapse, the Turkish nation has not hesitated to abandon the world it pioneered and become a follower, even a

Our administrators, politicians and intellectuals have seen Westernisation as the only way forward. What do we have left after two hundred years of experience? What have we gained, and what have we lost in return? It would take too long to recount our material and spiritual losses, but the short summary is this: A great empire has slipped from our grasp, and our immense underground and above-ground riches have fallen into the hands of other nations. Worse still, we have begun to lose our national identity and our spiritual superiority. So what have we gained? For various reasons, answers that dare not be given or are merely soporific...

We boldly ask this crucial question that has been glossed over, and we give the answer without hesitation: we have wasted almost two hundred years and have not even accomplished one per cent of what we could have done. We believe that a single, clear example is sufficient to satisfy those of sound mind and conscience:

When we embarked on our Westernisation efforts, what was the level of our knowledge and research? What is it today?

What was our level then, and what is it today? Unfortunately, it is impossible to give a positive answer to the above question without straying from the infallible principles of science and the findings of research. In other words, the gap between us and developed countries has widened rather than narrowed. Despite countless sacrifices, even the blessed blood of millions of martyrs shed like rain for this cause, who is responsible for our stagnation? Let us just say that it is not possible to place the blame for our backwardness solely on the shoulders of our administrators. The real reason is that, despite the changes in form, minds have not changed. We chanted "West! West!" , yet...

It is our failure to understand what the "West" is. While striving to abandon the development models we had become accustomed to and embrace new ones, we chose the wrong starting point and failed to understand the foundations upon which development should be based.

Development has two main foundations. One is the "material foundation" and the other is the "spiritual foundation".

### The material foundation of development

The material foundation of development **is based on** a positive scientific mindset and technical progress. **A positive scientific mindset**



## BASIC PRINCIPLES

There are certain requirements that must be strictly adhered to. One of the most important of these is that the production and consumption activities of a society must be carried out in a completely transparent manner. The production life of a nation must be based on the same system, the same principles, and the same understanding as its consumption life. When I observe our beloved Turkey in this regard, I am confronted with a devastating picture. Our consumption is developing in line with Western standards, but our production remains entirely Eastern, unable to escape its backward state. We dress like the West, but we cannot build the factories that produce those clothes. We try to take advantage of the means we consider to be Western. We want to have our cars, our telephones, our radios, our washing machines, our refrigerators and other modern conveniences. But we cannot adjust our production capacity to our demands.

I cannot produce most of what we call "civilised goods"; we constantly buy them from others. If Dir relies on outdated production techniques, but becomes accustomed to consumption like **nations** with superior consumption techniques, what will be the outcome? The verdict of science on this matter is clear: nations that produce like Easterners and consume like Westerners are, economically speaking, doomed to perpetual exploitation, dependence on others' aid, and, worse still, inevitable impoverishment. Neither the powers that be in the past nor the powers that be today have grasped this fundamental issue, which is rapidly leading our beloved nation to disaster. They have been defeated by the powers that be, wasting time on petty electoral calculations.

## NATIONAL DEFENCE AND NATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY

The ruling class has abused the trust of the nation. For the first time, we are experiencing the joy of laying new foundations, establishing new principles, and seeking and demonstrating the path to development.

Another indispensable requirement of a positive scientific mindset is this: no nation can develop by imitating systems tailored to the structures and conditions of other nations. Of course, nations, like people, will benefit from each other's experiences. However, if they simply do what others have done and do not contribute anything of their own, they will never achieve a good result. How a nation will develop must be examined by studying its own conditions, correctly assessing the country's potential, and researching solutions appropriate to the characteristics of its material and spiritual resources.

Relying on solutions devised by foreigners often leads to the disease worsening, or even, God forbid, death. Our Turkey is striving to achieve economic development by implementing the capitalist system.

Capitalism is a system conceived according to the structure of European civilisation and the conditions of European nations. That Europe is a foreign world, unlike us, with values that do not fit our standards and are contrary to our values. That Europe is based on social hostilities.

class antagonisms. In the history of the Turkish Nation

There is no such thing as "class enmity." There is only the unity of an entire nation around a single goal. That Europe owes the greater part of its wealth to the ruthless exploitation of others. How can we develop with a system designed to facilitate our exploitation? Internally, we reject capitalism, which seeks not only to condemn our people to poverty, but our nation as well.

, we reject capitalism, which seeks to condemn not only our individuals but our entire nation to poverty.

## OPINIONS

Especially in recent years, we have seen that a second path, seemingly socialist and sometimes communist, has been recommended to our nation, which is again a foreign system. It is natural to wonder what communism would bring to the Turkish nation.

I am not in a position to say, "Let's try this too." Because, after fifty years of practice, we know very well what it has done to the 60 million Turks who are like us in terms of ethnicity, religion, language and culture, and we see the indescribable consequences it has brought. Communism has brought upon our unfortunate compatriots the forced herding of animals, expulsion from their homeland, mass extermination, forced oblivion of their history and nationality, forced submission to attacks on their faith, forced acceptance of the corruption of their language, the destruction of their culture, the plundering of their wealth, and the loss of their freedom.

. Ultimately, our struggle for communism is not so much an "economic"

cause but rather a cause of "independence". We will not forget this reality. We will always remind those who forget, and we will surely uproot those who seek to make us forget. Let us also note that capitalism and communism, despite their different appearances and their struggle against each other, are actually made from the same dough, originating from the same source. Because both are based on "materialism" and appeal only to people's stomachs. I propose a path of national development that is distinct from foreign systems such as capitalism and communism. This path is not derived from stolen doctrines, but from an examination of our national structure and our unique conditions. This is «*üs* ( *11* ) *cü*

We call it "The Path." We call it "The Path of Nine Lights." And we believe that serving this great Turkish Nation—which takes infinite pride in serving it—

## MİLLÎ KALKINMA VE MİLLÎ İKTİSAT SİYASETİ

will surely accept our proposal and thus return to itself once more.

### The spiritual foundations of development

I would also like to touch upon the spiritual foundations of our development. The spiritual foundations of development are nationalism, faith and morality. We are sincerely committed to Turkish pride and consciousness, Islamic morality and virtue, above the concerns of vote gathering and political hypocrisy. Turkish pride and consciousness, along with Islamic morality and piety, are the spiritual elements that make up our nation, in perfect harmony.

The union of nations only acquires meaning and value if it is built upon such a noble foundation. A rise without nationality, an immoral foundation, is impossible. At this juncture, I shall point out a matter I consider important.

I would like to point out a matter that I consider important. Very

Although few in number, we see some people attempting to pit nationalism against Islam. Such an attitude is wrong, absurd, ignorant, and if done deliberately, it is treason and hypocrisy. Struggle occurs between different, even hostile, ideals. However, Turkishness and Islam have been fused together in the same sacred crucible for a thousand years, becoming inseparable like flesh and nails. By becoming Muslim, the Turkish nation has gained the highest values of social order and religious life, and Islam has found in the Turkish nation a mujahid with unparalleled bravery and love for construction. Millions of Turkish children, "in a rose garden...

## BASIC PERSPECTIVE

They rushed to the battlefields, drank the cup of martyrdom. Questions such as "Are you Turkish? Are you Muslim?" stem from ignorance and are foolish. Otherwise, they are treasonous. A religious understanding that rejects nationalism and a nationalist ideology hostile to Islam are alien to us. Those who defend these flawed views, even if they claim to belong to us, have no connection to us; they are not one of us. As a nation, we reject them. are foreign to

us, outside of us. Those who defend these flawed views, even if they claim to belong to us, have no connection to us, they are not one of us. If we want to survive as a nation, we must reject them.

, we must embrace our Muslim identity and our Turkishness.

If we wish to protect one another, we must love one another, refrain from pursuing fabricated divisions that are utterly meaningless, and not be swayed by the words of hypocrites. We must not become pawns of evil forces at a time when we are calling for a holy war to spiritually and materially elevate the Turkish nation and ensure its continued existence as a free and independent entity in a world surrounded by enemies. We must not be deceived by appearances. We must not forget

that the descendants of Abdullah ibn Saba, who spread discord and corruption in the Islamic world, are still alive today and are trying to divide us.

## science and technology

Furthermore, and ultimately, let us note that in motiner-de, in symbols, in patterns that have lost their vitality and energy, there is no miraculous power. Türkt — The shameful and agonising state of the Islamic world is before us. The proud and tyrannical forces representing the dominant civilisation of the age are ruling in the old magnificent civilisations and keep unfortunate countries in a state of humiliation.

## NATIONAL RESISTANCE AND **MİLLÎ** ECONOMIC POLICY

They are striving. These countries are endeavouring to establish a superior system of life by embracing the superior principles of the dominant civilisation, not by blindly clinging to outdated institutions and dusty, outdated motifs, but by finding solutions and ways to protect and perpetuate their children's homelands and their existence. We must accept the guidance of reason, science and technology. We want hearts to be enlightened and minds to be illuminated by science. We will dispel the darkness of ignorance, delusion and doubt.

We are committed to establishing **Turkish** scientific life. We must establish the absolute supremacy of reason and science in the material realm. We will establish a Turkish academy. **We will open** a new era of **thought and** action that will bring universal prestige and opportunity to Turkish universities. We accept the world as a vast testing ground and a great school. We will move away from being poor imitators of the cultures and technologies of advanced nations. We will rise to a level where we will be the guides in science and technology. That represents the nation's hardship, deprivation, and shame. The coming centuries will be like this. The wheel of time is turning. It is turning forward. For the Turkish people, glory, honour, prestige, and the future lie ahead. It is time to be reborn in accordance with its essence and nature.

### National culture and development

If the children of the same era within a society do not share the same spirit, then there is no such thing as a nation there, or **if there is, it is in danger. This is where the importance of culture and art lies, in creating this spirit of national unity, the same era**

compels the children of the same era to carry the same spirit. The temperament and character of people millet bahimin- Culture is the counterpart of nationhood. Culture is the character of a nation. And in this respect, it is also national. Just as a person's character is a manifestation of their entire inner being, so too is a nation's culture the fruit, the result, of all its institutions.

The loss of identity means becoming vulgar, degenerate, and base. Imitation turns both the individual and the nation into monkeys. It is important to note the significant difference between culture and civilisation. Civilisation, unlike culture, is not national; it knows no national boundaries and is universal. I wish to emphasise the importance of this point.

From the time these ideas of development and progress first emerged until today, we have been caught up in a weekly rush to become Westernised, and it is certain that we have imported political and economic systems from the West just as we import cars. Such behaviour is no different from looking at a sheep with a wolf's teeth or dressing a patient in fancy clothes. What could be more dangerous than applying the cure for one illness to another? For example, if the political or economic system of England suits England and produces brilliant results there, this cannot be proof that the same system will produce positive and productive results in Turkey. On the contrary, a system that works very well there can produce very poor results here. This is because the social conditions in England are very different from those in Turkey. And again, English culture bears no resemblance to Turkish culture. We say this for good reason. Without considering the importance of culture for a nation, succumbing to the disease of imitation and importing regimes and systems from abroad

If we do this, the result will be destruction. Sometimes, when I say that the children of the same era have a ritualistic spirit, what I mean is that a nation's political, economic and other institutions must be in harmony with its national culture. I must express the same truth in terms of civilisation and technology. Institutions imported from the West seem to me as illogical as putting an aeroplane engine on a cart. And this situation encourages a ready-made mentality and makes us lazy. Again, for this reason, we lose our own creative power and succumb to feelings of inferiority. It is an indisputable fact that we are not civilised simply by imitating the West.

In the current situation, civilisation in Turkey is an imported material civilisation, a civilisation of consumer goods, and is merely superficial. Nations that are not themselves productive and creative are doomed to decline. Moreover, and most painfully, the national cultures of such nations are also invaded, melted away under the influence of foreign cultures, and disappear. The backwardness in the field of civilisation leads to the extinction of national culture. The modern world is not won on bloody battlefields, but in the cold war. This is also

The most effective way to counter this is to engage in cultural invasion. I would like to emphasise that developing countries must be particularly vigilant against cultural invasion. Our enemies now feel no need to land at Çanakkale with armoured vehicles; they aim to destroy our culture, to alienate us from our national identity and spirit, that is, from our culture. Having clarified this point, I would also like to highlight the following:

2. Turkey's development is, above all, a matter of national culture and national awareness. The preservation, promotion, and even creation of national culture is paramount.



## BASIC PRINCIPLES

It would be a sacred duty for enlightened individuals and artists to awaken the Turkish community from its slumber and remind it of its true identity. I believe that the happiness of people living in Turkey can be achieved through the creation of an indissoluble spirit of unity, can be realised. For this,

The task falling to cultural creators is also significant. They will harmonise the social orchestra by preserving national culture, and our institutions will be compelled to carry the same spirit.

. To achieve this goal, the fine arts must be directed towards service and national intellectual movements must be created. We must sing the praises of our villages, our national ideal, through our novels, our poetry, our theatre and our cinema.

, the Turkish Ideal. I believe that in order to be worthy of our ancestors, who emphasised the importance of national culture by saying "we are like ourselves," we must not be like others. I must abandon imitation. My love for everyone who strives for this cause is immense.

is immense.

In order for our country to become self-sufficient, it is necessary to minimise current expenditures and undertake extensive and large-scale investments that will rapidly increase productivity in the agricultural and industrial sectors. Furthermore, it is essential to utilise our labour force, which is currently being wasted, and to mobilise the energy of the people.

We live in an age of great advances in science and technology. Science and technology today are a source of real miracles for human communities. Among the various branches of this

has been given a special plan and activity.

It is a difficult task to elevate an entire nation in terms of science and culture in a short period of time. However, it is relatively easy to establish a cadre of 5-6 thousand high-quality scholars in a short period of time. Such a high-quality cadre can also lead our country to great strides. It is necessary to embark on extensive scientific and technical research and to pursue paths that will rapidly develop Turkey under the leadership of science.

We would also like to emphasise that a growth rate of 7% and an investment rate of 18% are insufficient for Turkey. It is not appropriate to take Japan's 25% and China's 18% figures as a basis. We consider it essential for our salvation that investments be directed solely and exclusively towards areas that will increase production.

As the descendants of a generation that built great empires, ruled continents and oceans, and brought civilisation and enlightenment wherever it went, we cannot claim to have fulfilled our duties properly.

The Turkish individual, who is loyal to his state, the agent of national wealth, and who approaches his patriotic duty with the understanding of "either a veteran or a martyr," is not entirely confident. To ensure Ges'

The sight of women and men queuing at the doors of foreign states

The scene presented by these children of the homeland, who have been forced to enter the spirit of social solidarity, is not only heartbreaking but also creates many obstacles in terms of the spirit of social solidarity. It is painful to live in the shadow of those who ruled us in the past; therefore, it is one of our fundamental duties to strive for industrialisation through the bold steps we will take in our own homeland.

## TEMEL GÖRÜŞLER

and overt unemployment, we must embark on a comprehensive campaign of work and competition to create a prosperous and strong Turkey.

It is my sincere belief that the issues of roads, schools, education, health and insurance have not been addressed in a systematic manner, and that past political administrations have failed to focus on fundamental issues due to their preoccupation with short-term gains.

No serious steps have been taken in the direction indicated by the spirit of solidarity and in line with the interests of the state to counter regionalism and separatism.

The discord between the Turkish people and the educated elite has created a deep rift within our social fabric that is difficult to bridge. The only way out of this situation and the crisis it has created is a serious national education reform. . Seeing that the current authorities are unable to take such fundamental measures is at the forefront of my concerns.

In Turkish politics, it is truly regrettable that, after so many painful events, seriousness and a sense of duty cannot be instilled. Irresponsibility and lack of accountability have become rampant. We cannot claim to have saved our national dignity in international relations. The geopolitical and strategic situation of the land we inhabit requires us to be cautious. The issue of trust is a painful one, left to future years in incompetent and unqualified hands.

It is a separate wound that Turkey, an agricultural country, imports wheat from America. Imports and exports must be re-examined in terms of national interests. Economic state institutions and government departments have not yet mastered the methods and means of serving the nation and being productive.

## NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND NATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY

Bureaucracy has cancerised the state apparatus. The intrusion of daily politics into institutions has completely disrupted affairs and undermined the spirit of service.

### The meaning of development

There can be no peace in a country where the balance between burden and benefit has not been established. In a society where the majority of people sleep soundly, it is impossible to speak of social justice.

People ask us what our economic views are. We have explained this repeatedly, and we are explaining it again... Turkey has been presented as an agricultural country up to now, and investments have consistently been directed in this direction. No country in the world can develop through agriculture alone. Those who argue that Turkey can develop in this way are either traitors or, at the very least, ignorant. In order to develop, Turkey must shift towards industry and transfer those working in agriculture to this sector. Industry is not, as some claim, about buying factories from this or that country and operating them. Until now, industry has always been presented in this way. Those who established the Nasilli and Kayseri textile factories claimed to have brought industry to the country. This is the state of industry. We advocate not the assembly of factories imported from abroad, but the establishment of factories that manufacture factories. The Turkish state must first become a self-sufficient state. Every obstacle hindering our national industry must be removed. Manpower must be shifted from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector.

Our plans will encourage investment. The idle capital in the hands of the people will be directed towards large investments under the leadership and guarantee of the state. The Turkish worker will be both a partner and an employee of the factory where he works. These investments will increase production, provide foreign exchange, and create jobs. The era of burying millions in stone buildings must now come to an end. The Turkish nation has no tolerance for waste and dead investments.

The Turkish peasant buys at high prices and sells at low prices. We consider it essential to establish production-sales-consumption cooperatives to rescue him from this situation. Cooperatives are a means that will bring many benefits to the Turkish nation. It is imperative that the state take the lead and provide protection, giving this the importance it deserves.

The right to property is a sacred right. Property is part of a person. We accept this. However, those who possess property cannot use it to the detriment of others. We do not accept this. Property owners must follow the path shown by the state and consider the interests of the nation.

### Widespread industrialisation

The fact that industrialisation has been haphazard, random and focused on the manufacture of consumer goods means that it cannot give us what we expect from industrialisation. This is because entrepreneurs are inevitably drawn to regions where transport facilities are readily available, marketing is easy and demand is readily met. The foremost of these regions is the Istanbul-Ismir corridor, and all factories are concentrated in this **area**.

Of OF INDUSTRIALISATION AND NATIONAL ECONOMIC  
POLICY

We must move away from making investments in large centres and concentrating our industry in certain large centres. The attitude of spreading out from large centres is harmful. Until now, all governments have stubbornly maintained this wrong attitude. Industrialisation across regions in a fair manner and directing it towards the major centres that deserve it is a new principle adopted by the Nationalist Movement. Dead investments must be eliminated.

Due to the continuation of misguided policies, thousands of citizens from all over Anatolia, who have been forced to seek work, are flocking to the major industrial centres. In these cities, which have grown by force, masses of people have formed who have been uprooted, lost their customs and traditions, and been separated from their families. This accumulation creates an environment ripe for all kinds of evil.

Citizens are forced to choose between two evils: either uproot themselves to find work, or resign themselves to poverty to avoid uprooting. The nation will inevitably suffer some harm.

We must take measures to ensure that industry is established in this region. We can outline these measures as follows.

a) To move from an agricultural structure to an industrial one, villages should be merged into towns with a population of at least five thousand.

b) Provide infrastructure investments (roads, water, electricity) to these towns.

c) Spreading our new factory towns, such as Karabük and KırMali, to our underdeveloped regions.

#### TI2MEN OPINIONS

d) Prioritise allocations for underdeveloped regions.

e) Additionally, provide tax reductions, customs exemptions, credit increases, and interest rate reductions for such regions.

In this way, citizens' employment opportunities will be fundamentally secured kop-

. If this neglect continues, there is no doubt that the crisis Turkey finds itself in will continue to worsen. Every second that passes without these measures being implemented is detrimental to the national identity. The concentration of industry in one or two specific regions is forcing Turkish villagers to move to these regions in search of work.

Thus, shanty towns spread as far as possible around large cities, creating pockets of poverty. This situation causes social erosion.

As a matter of principle, initiating development from major centres is one of the most grievous mistakes committed by almost all governments.

Development should not be initiated from large centres and spread outwards, but rather initiated from the periphery and directed towards the large centres.

, mobilising all resources to tackle Anatolia and industrialise the peasantry , the only way forward .

#### Industrialisation and Eastern Anatolia

Industry tends to concentrate in developed regions. This is a natural and human condition. However, the continuation of this situation develops one part of the country while neglecting the other part.

is declining. The influx of population from rural areas to industrialised regions is creating masses in these cities who are uprooted from their roots , have lost their customs and traditions, and are separated from their heritage. In this way, the growing cities that have emerged constitute a fertile ground for social disasters.

Turkish citizens are unemployed in their own regions, and when they find work, they are neglected and suffer great hardship. If a workplace supports 6 workers, that is the law of this economy.

(9000) A city with a population of 55,000 has been established in the village of Karabük. Striving for development at a rate of 7% means accepting that it will take 250 years to reach the current level of America. Such a

a slow pace is unbearable.

\*The people must be involved in industry, and the entire nation's strength must be focused on the development drive with great enthusiasm. Capital, labour and knowledge can transform the country into a prosperous land under the guidance of the state. Weak governments and administrators lacking enthusiasm and faith are preoccupied with petty calculations.

We must learn from our mistakes. The spirit of the Second National Movement must emerge. An industry in which labour is also a stakeholder can be established rapidly. Our children, who have fallen into poverty in search of bread, are content with less in their own homeland. We must show the effort that will bring this hope and opportunity.

We must not fall into the trap of seeking work in the countries we conquered yesterday. It is a disgrace that the governments of the past turned a blind eye to the erosion of our national dignity.

The eastern region, in particular, lives in poverty and hardship despite the great opportunities afforded by its nature. The people of this region should benefit from its opportunities.



#### TEMRL VIEWS

To achieve this, we must plunge our hands deep into the soil. We must immediately establish a special fund for the development of the East. We must ensure that private enterprise is encouraged to move to the East by granting credit transfers, interest rate reductions and tax breaks. In this way, a new class will emerge around the newly established factories.

## ECONOMIC POLICY AND INDUSTRIALISATION

Economy and industrialisation play the most important role in the development of the country. We believe that human labour is sacred and that it is one of the fundamental elements of economic activity.

In order to make the most efficient use of the country's wealth, to overcome the mass unemployment caused by the backwardness of the social and economic structure, to enter an era of prosperity, and to live as an independent nation, I consider it essential to rapidly implement the industrial revolution and establish an advanced production system. Our Turkey today bears all the signs of a backward and ailing structure.

The homeland, which carries the meaning of a political whole, is far from expressing economic unity and integrity. The people are deprived of the opportunities offered by the national economy. Modern nations are societies organised according to modern production techniques. For individuals and society, development means moving from deprivation, helplessness and weakness to existence, power and prosperity. The current structure of the Turkish nation cannot escape poverty, suffering, and the tyranny of natural conditions unless the order of life and society changes. We need hundreds of thousands of service and specialist personnel from every profession, fa-

The community is unable to derive sufficient benefit from those who are trained. Goods are produced, but there are no buyers; specialisation is created, but it is not sustained. The deprivation, hardship and dangers created by the economic structure and organisational dysfunction, and the low national income, will continue to worsen year after year, generation after generation, unless the current ratios, order and structure change. This nation does not deserve this painful situation. We cannot allow our homeland to be a country of starving prisoners.

We cannot allow this to happen.

For this purpose, measures will be taken to bring about a fundamental inkılâba yiinelecektir:

a — To plan and organise for the benefit of the nation's material and spiritual resources for the benefit of the nation,

b — To modernise the national economy,

c — Developing and training to develop and train economic and professional groups,

ç. — to provide employment, specialisation and income for unemployed citizens, and to prepare them for new professions and specialisations when necessary.

d — Ensuring the continuity of goods and services production; ensuring continuity and security in production, distribution, and consumption

e — Regulating employment cards in the workplace,

f — Ensuring that labour receives its due value,

g — Addressing entrepreneurial and knowledge gaps through education and removing legal barriers,

g — Realising the vision of a "100 million-strong Turkey" by ensuring Turkey's demographic strength,

h — To ensure the full implementation of the mixed economy principles stipulated by the Constitution.

i — Providing private enterprise with the means to serve national development and industrialisation **plans**

In our country, which is in the process of development, the strategy for investments has not been clearly defined.

The scope of the state and the private sector must be clearly defined, and opportunities for long-term projects in these sectors must be created.

In order to master the main strategy of development, heavy industry energy sources and railways must remain in state hands; light industry must be transferred to the private sector .

These facilities, currently owned by the state, should be divided into shares available to everyone and offered to the public, making citizens property owners in their own country. The capital raised in this way can form the basis for new investments

and the nation can move towards prudent saving rather than being crushed under price hikes. However, state enterprise in light industry should only play a pioneering role in underdeveloped regions; we must break free from state capitalism. Today, the state has become a victim of a policy of attributing everything to the state and turning citizens into labourers, the result of a difficult-to-understand mentality.

The sad truth is that İ. İnönü and his party, who drafted the 1924 and 1961 constitutions and personally established the state order twice, are now among those who claim that the system they created is flawed.

In Turkey, where 85% of industry is state-owned, accelerating the pace of statism will lead to divisions between "the state as employer and the people as labourers". The task at hand is to rid the state of its role as hotelier, shoemaker, tailor, butcher, and tavern keeper, and to free the productive sector of industry from the clutches of privileged friends operating with a profit-seeking, opportunistic mentality.

### Inadequate economic policy

It cannot be said that the economic policy being pursued carries the conditions and sacred spirit required for an economic independence and liberation struggle. First and foremost, it is essential that statesmen wholeheartedly believe in and commit to economic independence and liberation, and that they have clear views on the sequence and order of the necessary efforts. The success of Turkey's economic liberation struggle lies in modernising agriculture on the one hand, while simultaneously initiating an industrial revolution and establishing heavy industry in the country. It is necessary to say with regret that, since the founding of the Republic

to the present day, it must be said with regret that, instead of making investments that would ensure agricultural and industrial production, state revenues have been spent in arbitrary and fanciful ways.

For economic independence and the success of the war of liberation, it is essential that the leaders, the people, the intellectuals, and the development workers believe in each other and have an infinite sense of trust.

The consequences follow. This means that 'Oh, the administrators must live like the people and, together with the people, engage in significant savings and frugality, accepting many hardships for a certain period of time, day and night.

However, today partisan behaviour takes precedence over all other considerations, and instead of activities that will quickly bring the country up to speed in agriculture and industry, actions are being taken to satisfy those with political influence. are being carried out.

## NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC POLICY

State investments made with state resources that are deemed unprofitable and inefficient,

. If such projects do not give rise to any social or other significant drawbacks, they should be liquidated. Beyond this, the preservation of facilities and enterprises established by the state is the most appropriate course of action.

.

In expressing our views, we note that we were among those who established the State Planning Organisation for the first time in Turkey .let Planlama Teşkilâtı (State Planning Organisation) in Turkey and whose signature appears under the first orders of the Planning Organisation, I would like to point out a

.

It is as wrong to regard the planning organisation as an entity that will implement everything after careful consideration as it is to view this organisation merely as a consultative body. The head of government is responsible for determining and presenting the plan's objectives, strategy, and available resources, and is also tasked with supporting the plan in its entirety during implementation. The primary duty of the planning organisation is to determine priorities based on scientific principles for the use of available resources and to apply these priorities with discipline. At the same time, it is to conduct the necessary scientific research and studies and to assist the head of government in making the right decisions. To this end, it is necessary for the Prime Minister to work in close cooperation with the planning organisation from the very beginning of the determination of the plan's objectives to the very end.

Applying planning **only** to the public sector *and* excluding the private sector is not an approach appropriate to Turkey's circumstances.

## TEMEL GÖRÜŞLER

Economic policy is fundamentally flawed.

Turkey's development into an industrialised country will be possible through industrialisation. Although this is the common view of the public, it would be impossible to claim that those governing Turkey have adopted serious principles towards industrialisation and are taking measures to put development on a fast track by overcoming bottlenecks.

Indeed, although industrialisation is a mandatory policy, economic decisions and behaviours have not been conditioned towards industry in all income streams. The highest proportion of income is from industrial revenues, followed by share and bond revenues; commercial profits from goods production; thirdly, banking and deposit income; and fourthly, income from all types of real estate. While it is necessary to anticipate these and to channel income towards industrialisation, not only has this important issue been overlooked, but public opinion has also been misled and attention diverted elsewhere on these vital matters. However, for countries seeking to industrialise, it is essential to curb speculative gains in unproductive sectors and areas.

On the other hand, fiscal policy, particularly tax system measures, emerged with the aim of resolving financial difficulties that arose from time to time. Rather than being a fragmented and inconsistent system designed solely to generate revenue for the treasury, it should be

— a system that regulates economic policy,

## NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND NATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY

- Ensuring the flow of savings, profits and dividends to industry,
- Anticipating changes in credit and tax policies in line with the development targets of the sector,
- Regulating income distribution in favour of industrialisation and in accordance with the principles of social justice,
- It is essential that the profits of unproductive areas, especially real estate income, be reduced to a level below the interest rate on time deposits. In contrast, fiscal policy generally does not go beyond being a means of financing hidden unemployment and unproductive current expenditures.

### The path to rapid development

Rapid development can be achieved by channelling income towards industrialisation, the fundamental condition for which is to reduce property income ratios to a lower level in favour of industrialisation and deposit interest rates. For example, if the term deposit interest rate is 9%, the real estate income should be no more than 9.7%. In addition, it is essential to envisage property transfer tax and annual building tax at progressive rates for any excess over the required amount.



## BASIC VIEWS

The greatest resource for development is real estate income.

The fact that real estate income is more advantageous than term deposits and share-certificate and bond income, and that it has a stabilising effect on economic decisions and behaviour, means that this issue is important for the rapid development of all developing countries. To prove this point, it would be useful to refer to the following mathematical explanation.

If a property purchased for 40,000 lira

9 Compared to the current interest rate, the capital market value is  $10,800 \times 100$

120,000.— and the annual profit ratio is

$$\frac{9}{10,800}$$

$$\frac{40,000}{10,800} = 7 \frac{2}{3} \approx 27. \text{ In this case, the profit}$$

will deviate from industrialisation; it will be directed towards bank deposits  
deposit

ed in banks.

It will not be possible to determine.

An important method of comparison

The value of money is lost due to price increases; in contrast, the " " values of real estate increase at least at the level of price increases; as a result, real estate amortises itself in a short time with its annual income and price increases, do-

it is a fact that savings are insured by being tied to real estate investments so that they are not affected by inflationary trends.

The table below has been prepared taking into account the realities of Turkey.

It aims to demonstrate which is more advantageous: investing 100,000 lira in savings (deposits) or in real estate.

NOTE: The term deposit interest rate is 9% 7, the real estate income is 100,000 lira.  
 - per 'cin axda 800 TL dan yıtda 9600 dolayısıyle 6» 9.6 income ratio,  
 period 10 years, average price increase % 8 olstin.

**M E V D U A T**

-	100,000	Deposit
+	70,000.—	Interest income ( /> 7)
—	44,500.—	80% over ten years
		Decline in purchasing power due to price increases
—	14,000	Tax collected from Fais's will over ten years (9 20)

**GAYRİMENKUL YATIRIMI**

+	100,000	Real estate investment
-	96,000	10-year rental income
∓	80,000.—	Ten-year value increase below the price level.
		10-year 6% property tax
	G.000.—	10% income tax
—	15,000.—	
		(maximum)
—	20,000	10-year building repair cost (maximum)
	25,000	10-year heating system cost.

+ 210,000.— Situation ten years later

+ % 11 value and income increase

## **MiMi KAWINMA AND Min ECONOMIC POLICY**

It has been assumed that during this ten-year period, real estate income would remain fixed. Moreover, it is clear that the interest rate on term deposits cannot be maintained at such a high level as 9% over a ten-year period. It is therefore clear that real estate investment is at least S times more advantageous than savings and industrial income, and that industrialisation will remain stifled as long as it provides opportunities for speculation. Given that this is generally the case, as long as real estate retains its appeal over savings and industrialisation, the bottlenecks and vicious circles of development cannot be overcome.

It is not difficult to resolve the housing issue.

If the real estate income ratio is reduced below the level of the fixed-term interest rate and property taxes are increased at rates that are not passed on to tenants, residential construction will suffer a significant blow for profit motives. It is clear that residential construction will be significantly impacted, and unless alternative measures for housing production are envisaged, a large and dangerous housing shortage will emerge.

However, to prevent such an outcome, the state must undertake at least the annual urbanisation and housing construction required to meet the demand in cities. Social Housing by establishing the Social Housing Institution and providing modern, affordable housing by deducting housing contributions from the incomes of those covered by social insurance, the Labour Pension Fund, and the Social Security Institution.

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

It is imperative that citizens be guaranteed a home throughout their lives, freeing them from the tragic struggle and hardship of leaving property to their children. Italdı hi

With such a measure, cement, iron, construction materials, and timber worth billions in national production would also be prevented from being squandered on shanty towns and similar primitive housing constructions. However, the Ministry of Urban Planning and Housing and the State Planning Organisation favour ad hoc interventions rather than a humane policy.

### A great opportunity for rapid development or a proposal for a new system

It is not difficult to see that workers or civil servants today spend 30-50% (40%) of their wages on rent, 15% on taxes, and 8% on social security contributions, meaning that they immediately lose 63% of their income and live on a low percentage of 37%.

Those who ponder development issues will inevitably ask what purpose these sums serve and in what direction they are being used.

40% of the income was squandered by property owners for speculative purposes,

- 15% was used to finance unproductive current expenditure and hidden unemployment,
- • 8% is not evaluated in terms of social security situations

## MİLLÎ KALKINMA VE MİLLÎ İKTİSAT SİYASETİ

and is generally used to fuel and reinforce inflation and speculation,  
will be determined.

However, if these amounts are evaluated in the direction of industrialisation and a 6% annual productivity gain is achieved, there will be no reason for Turkey not to join the ranks of countries showing miraculous growth within a maximum of 15 years.

Yet, due to politicians who engage in daily political speculation and blind the public's foresight, only minimal progress is being made in terms of development. To put an end to this stagnant development, we consider the following political principles to be essential.

*7. Catlnztnmodzz price ist\*/rrorizto importance/c condition*

O In order for money to fulfil its role in the economy, it is essential to protect savings against price movements and, consequently, to ensure that the annual rate of price increase does not exceed the interest rate on demand deposits.

### *7. Make savings and investment attractive*

O Investment is necessary for development, and savings are  
necessary for investment.  
, it is necessary to encourage savings and real estate

to prevent the diversion of savings to real estate to keep real estate income below the term deposit interest rate. • \*—s =Imaz .olmaktadir. On the other hand, the property tax and building tax are also applied at high rates • However, it is also imperative that property taxes be passed on to tenants. is also a necessity. bonds invested in industry must also be ensured. is also essential.

### ***Sermaye piyasası kanunu sürüncemede kalmıştır***

- Significant amendments to the Capital Markets Law and the Workers' Mutual Aid Institution Law are also required. ••

*It is also necessary to attract foreign capital in a positive manner.  
is also crucial.*

O The objective of encouraging foreign capital to transition from assembly to manufacturing and to produce vital components through compelling incentives is to establish a corporate tax rate on foreign capital ventures equivalent to the tax rate on imported components. corporate tax rate should be set in proportion to the imported parts. On the other hand, parts should be scored according to their economic importance, and the tax rate should be adjusted accordingly. \*•°•sa\*ar When manufactured domestically, tax should be levied at a lower rate based on the corresponding score value.

### ***İşçi dövizleri taltif edilmelidir***

O Today, as the share of buildings and land in investment capital continues to grow, dev-

Those who establish businesses abroad should cover the land and construction costs themselves, but should be able to recover the assistance provided through nominal rent or annual instalments.

*The tax regime should be organised in such a way as to facilitate industrialisation.  
be regulated.*

Today, in order to reduce dependence on foreign currency and imports, it is essential to rapidly develop the production of *labz'iia* and the arc goods industry and to create an environment in which the national currency can play its role in development. Moreover, establishing this type of industry is more economical and cheaper than importing .

. However, the import of .is increasingly undermining the welfare of the country and the nation, as imports gain greater importance with each passing day. We do not advocate the nationalisation of imports and exports to remedy this situation,

However, participation in industrial investments that will prevent imports by paying import duties should be a prerequisite. Furthermore, it should be accepted that the limit on imports should be directly proportional to this tax and participation amount. In this way, the current situation, which is detrimental to the country, will be conditioned on the path to development.

It should also be considered a primary solution to set aside a portion of export revenues as compulsory savings and dedicate them to the establishment of manufacturing industries.



### Reform is also essential in banking

Instead of banking and central banking, which are proliferating like mushrooms and generally finance speculation and non-productive investments, it is essential to develop a system where emissions and securities transactions are linked to production and to make the domestic and foreign resources of banks more effective in terms of industrialisation.

Banks should introduce a new deposit system called *sexeki capital Jtesobt* to replace high-interest long-term bonds for depositors. In this system, depositors are not paid a premium in addition to interest, and such deposit income should also be exempt from income tax. However, the state does not regard citizens' shares and bonds as tangible assets and treats the money tied up in them as lost.

While officials in Western countries panic at the slightest price increase, those governing Turkey remain unmoved. The main reason for this is undoubtedly ignorance and lack of foresight. This issue has not yet been taken seriously.

We believe that inflation can be prevented primarily by ensuring that emissions and securities transactions are based on actual production and exchange, meaning that banks and the Central Bank should not accept securities that do not contain daily and ledger entries. In addition, the condition of not paying tax when benefiting from securities and discounts should also be envisaged.

## MİLLÎ KALKINMA VE MİLLÎ İKTİSAT SİYASETİ

Furthermore, the amount of tax paid should be taken into account as a criterion in credit and discount limits.

Instead of considering measures that increase political investments and employment and reduce hidden unemployment, and showing sensitivity in these matters, they prefer to appease the public and bind their foresight.

They do not consider it necessary to knock on the doors of the General Directorate of Employment ( ) in order to find jobs for them in state offices and enterprises, thereby deceiving the public. It is not important for them that state enterprises become shelters (imaret-hane) for unnecessary labour. Moreover, it is clear that this kind of policy, i.e. increasing unnecessary employment when there is no need for it, will result in encroaching on the livelihoods of those who are already struggling to make ends meet.

### Some obstacles to development

Becoming an industrialised and developed society is linked to rapid industrialisation. Industry and a service-based society are characteristics of a modern society. It is a fact that industrial investment is more productive than agricultural investment and that the increase in prosperity is directly proportional to industrialisation. In order to rapidly develop Turkish society from a backward agricultural society, it is imperative that all resources and opportunities be directed towards industrial investment and that employment growth be linked to industrial production.

However, the agricultural sector makes no contribution to production.

The unemployment rate, which is growing day by day and is the main cause of inflation, and the unemployment insurance that affects high school graduates, , turning the public sector into a soup kitchen and reflecting the cost to society through taxes ( ), . This policy is severely undermined by today's employment policy. This policy serves no purpose other than to reinforce the bureaucratic feudalism of state entrepreneurship and to undermine the peace and prosperity of the people.

On the other hand, the investment policy is not production-oriented but consumption-oriented.

. For, apart from a few ostentatious investments, the rest are nothing more than expenditures that bind the public's foresight.

Furthermore, the education system is also geared towards consumption rather than production. Graduates, instead of becoming elements of machine and goods production, are caught up in a terrible mechanism that consumes society's resources as desk jockeys. From this, we wish to assert that education policy is completely isolated from development goals.

### Some mice

Today's investment policy is consumerist rather than productive. **Apart from** a few investments that go beyond mere showmanship, the rest are nothing more than current expenditures that bind the community's foresight. If analysed carefully, the consumerism that prevails in society **instead of** productivity is actually nothing more than a manifestation of the community's philosophy of a morsel and a cloak. manifestation of the society's philosophy of "a morsel of food, a cloak."

## NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC POLICY

The people are poor, lacking modern facilities, and have surrendered themselves to a life of contentment and resignation. To put it bluntly, they are neither thriving nor dying. Due to frequent price hikes, the morsels passing through the people's throats are being recklessly violated. The duty of the government and the welfare state is not to kill its citizens, but to keep them alive.

The basis of industrialisation is the manufacture of machinery by machine. In this regard, special importance should be given to the establishment of factories that will manufacture the machines needed to produce machinery. Industrialisation is the reorganisation of all the productive economic sectors of the country in accordance with the requirements of modern science and technology. This is possible only if the country's main economic, political and social resources are mobilised by competent, capable and nationalist leaders, and if the people willingly make the necessary sacrifices and concessions.

The state budget in Turkey is quite meagre. Nevertheless, the capital necessary for the industrialisation of the country can be provided. There is an opportunity for rapid development without imposing a new burden on society. The opportunity for development lies in the severe hardship endured by the people.

For this reason, in addition to attaching importance to price stability, the aim should be to reduce all types of real estate income to a level **below** bank deposit interest rates, with the goal of evaluating resources and opportunities in the direction of industry.

The Capital Markets Law must be enacted as soon as possible in order to ensure that large capital ( ) and public savings ( ) are directed towards industry.  
to industry.

## BASIC VIEWS

Tax rates should be envisaged at varying rates according to development and regional benefit.

Machinery factories should be established for each sector to add value to investments.

Banks should introduce a new type of account called an industrial capital deposit account, which pays a premium in addition to interest.

The state should bear the building and land costs of the industrial

The tax rate should also be reduced when foreign capital shifts from assembly to manufacturing.

There is no possibility of escaping the current situation with our current lax investment policy.

there is no possibility of escaping this predicament. Encouraging investment and directing it towards beneficial areas requires the use of state authority.

This authority;

- 1) Achieving quality production,
- 2) Absolute savings,
- 3) should be used to rectify investment policy.

A haphazard investment policy prevails in Turkey. Without incentives, savers invest their savings in brick buildings. The key to investment is to pay attention to priorities. It is essential to channel investments into areas that will increase production. It is a grave mistake to believe that gas factories are beneficial to the Turkish economy.

Engaging in costly construction activities is detrimental. Instead of spending millions of lira on parliament buildings and municipal palaces, it is imperative to prioritise investments in establishing motor factories and heavy industry that will increase production.

Urgent measures must be taken to reach a level where we can compete with the global economy. Instead of importing luxury goods from abroad, we should import semi-finished and finished goods that will develop our industry, and we must pay the utmost attention to ensuring that our relations with developed industrial countries do not undermine our national economy. Efforts to drain money abroad must be stopped. In our view, it is a betrayal of the homeland to allow the profits earned through the labour and sweat of the Turkish people in Turkey to be drained abroad and to tolerate this. *We* want imports and exports to be in the hands of Turks, and we want those who have this opportunity to be people who are truly loyal to their country and nation and who do not harbour a longing for another foreign nation in their hearts.

Imports must be planned in line with our development objectives. The fact that our exports are limited to a few items is also a cause for concern. It is imperative that their numbers be increased in line with the development plan.

The continuing deficit in the balance of payments for foreign trade should compel us to take urgent measures. National production should be standardised in domestic and foreign markets.

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

and ensuring quality control. The shift from exporting raw materials and agricultural products to processed materials and industrial goods must be rapidly realised, and our trade relations with the Middle East, in particular, must be rapidly developed in this direction.

Foreign capital comes to every country to make money. This means, so the conditions it has invested in, the security of its capital, and the return on its capital in a short time. dırtı

to do and to be able to go out more ••• s kartabilmeñtir &lt;s-a nation does not help another nation for the sake of kindness. Every nation maintains or severs its relations with another nation based on its own interests.

It is necessary to view foreign capital through this lens and take measures accordingly.

The first point to note is that the entry of political influence along with foreign capital must be prevented. The capital to be invested must be of a nature that will increase production. If these conditions are fully met, it is not harmful to benefit from foreign capital for a period of time.

Today, international mutual interests bring with them opportunities for mutual assistance. Developing countries can benefit from this assistance without compromising their freedom and independence in the slightest. Turkey, of course, will and must follow the same path to benefit. However, there are issues that require particular attention to ensure that this does not become a heavy burden inherited by future generations. These can be listed as follows:

1 — The interest rates, instalments, and repayment periods of debts must be determined in a manner most suitable to the country's economic conditions.

2 — Part of the loans obtained are provided in net foreign currency, and Turkey can use this loan for imports from any country it chooses and in any manner it wishes. Another type is provided in the form of a letter of credit and is used only to finance imports from the country that granted the credit, which is a type of in-kind credit. Another type is project loans.

While utilising these loans in every form, Turkey must adhere to the principles of the lowest price and superior quality. Otherwise, the loan obtained will cost Turkey twice as much, and thus, we will not be able to save ourselves from the foreign exchange market.

3 — The loans taken are used to cover the deficit, i.e. the negative difference between the figures for the annual import programme and our export revenues. Therefore, when preparing a programme for imports made at the expense of loans, the country's needs must be determined in a sound manner. For example, in 1965, imports amounted to **\$665** million. Of this, \$44.2 million

corresponding to 44.2% of this, and 291 million dollars, corresponding to 43.8%, was used to import raw materials. In other words, 88% of the programme was allocated to imports of investment goods and raw materials. **For example**, how was the need for the \$291 million worth of raw material imports determined?

Has it been done? Is this figure excessive or insufficient? Since **1958**, the quota has remained more or less the same at **16 per cent**. We believe that



#### OPINIONS.

import programmes are prepared without relying on a serious inventory of the country's needs. The approximate needs of the country are calculated based on the quantities allocated in the previous quota. If these needs can be accurately determined and the quantities of raw materials and spare parts imported into the Turkish economy are closely examined, it will be seen that unnecessary stockpiling is taking place every year and imports exceed actual needs.

If the principles listed above are not taken into consideration, Turkey will not be able to save itself from the clutches of those who seek to destroy it.

In that case, future generations of Turks will hold us responsible for implementing such a development plan. Faced with these realities, the way forward for Turkey is to make investments that will increase production, enabling the establishment of Turkey's balance of payments as soon as possible, and to ensure that these facilities are built and maintained. Turkey must rapidly increase investments that will enable the raw materials it produces to be processed into finished and semi-finished products for export to foreign countries. After these fundamental measures, I would like to point out an important measure that must be taken, as the measures mentioned above can only be realised through this. The external debt, which has now reached an unsustainable level, should at least be deferred for a more favourable period, given the current situation. However, if such an opportunity exists and **attention is paid to the points** I have mentioned in subsequent borrowings and import calculations, it will be possible to relieve the Turkish economy from the pressure of foreign debt instalments. Economy

## **MİLLÎ KALKINMA VE MİLLÎ İKTİSAT SİYASETİ**

We recommend and hope that the relevant countries will initiate efforts to defer existing external debts to the long term and that the Consortium will at least raise this issue for discussion now.

It is necessary to benefit from advanced countries. It is essential to utilise foreign capital and foreign technology in establishing the facilities that will enable rapid development and produce the necessary goods. However, in such cases, the use of Turkish personnel should be maximised, and conditions should be such as to cause the least possible harm. The profit margin should not exceed 10% of the foreign exchange value of the production provided by the established facility.

Economic development cannot be achieved solely through external aid and manual labour. Above all, it is by establishing its own national objectives and implement a plan to achieve these goals.

and apply them with scientific insight. Mutual exchanges of benefit and cooperation between nations have been common throughout history. Indeed, such cooperation has even occurred and continues to occur between countries under regimes that are bitter enemies, even mortal foes. The crucial point is that the statesmen of the recipient country must use this aid appropriately and judiciously, and that such institutions must not be allowed to undermine national independence and national identity.

## Foreign economic relations

1. — The measure in foreign economic relations is national interest.
- 2      Be debt-free towards foreign capital.
- 3 — Foreign capital can be used as a tool for realising national ideals if it is in the hands of a national government capable of defending national interests.
- 4 — Foreign relations are prone to producing results that are detrimental to weaker units. In this respect, it is essential that relations be organised in a manner that overcomes this tendency and with particular care.
- 5 — We are not opposed to purely regional economic organisations.
- 6      We consider it a national duty to clearly oppose the use of regional economic organisations as a means of achieving economic and political unity, as the only alternative that does not conflict with national interests is not feasible in the short term.

Our entry into the Common Market will pose a serious obstacle to our industrialisation. Factors such as the costs incurred and the time it will take to gain experience mean that it is impossible for our country, which is striving to industrialise, to compete with the industrialised countries of the Common Market.

7      We are clearly and unequivocally opposed to the open market, as it would allow foreigners to acquire land and resources wherever and however much they want, thereby indirectly implementing the Treaty of Sèvres, leading to cultural and social deformation, and hindering the development of national industry.

8 — xaixin&gt;« We hope to benefit from the development and expansion of the Regional Cooperation Agreement from national decisions. /

9 We believe that developing trade relations with Third World countries, especially Muslim countries in the Middle East and Africa, and with China, will bring great benefits.

**Capital accumulation**

Accidents and savings must be able to represent value in industrialisation, and the acceleration of development investments requires that the increase in investment costs be low, while the increase in profits and savings be higher. Governments that fail to grasp this important point have not only failed to act in the face of rapidly rising prices, but have actually added fuel to the fire. They have added yet another burden to the citizens and entrepreneurs.

Indeed, the savings made by entrepreneurs and the loans they have secured with great difficulty cannot cover the rapid increase in investment costs. As capital and savings owners cannot escape the inflationary pitfall created by the state, they are investing their funds in unproductive sectors and services. For this reason, instead of seeking solutions among citizens and capital owners, it is imperative to hold those in power accountable and demand answers from them.

There is nothing more tragic than those who do not understand monetary and fiscal policy aspiring to govern. For those in power who fail to grasp the destructive nature of inflation in economic and social policy lack foresight.

and ignorance, have cut the branch they were sitting on by subjecting the people to inflation psychology; that is, they have destroyed the citizens' large savings

to the detriment of the citizens themselves. In contrast, **it is evident that** the business and entrepreneurial community has yet to develop the foresight to demand accountability for the capital and savings that have been destroyed.

In the development of economically underdeveloped countries, capital...

It is imperative to place special emphasis on the formation of capital. For our country's development, this can be achieved by mobilising savings, taxes and foreign aid, and by organising and utilising the labour of the people through .

In Turkey, the costs incurred by banks are provided to businesses, particularly in the trade sector such as imports and exports, in the form of short-term, high-interest loans. This makes the money provided expensive, and the borrower also incurs a burden.

There are too many banks in Turkey. Management is very costly. Credit costs are high. Credit distribution is based on the patronage of certain individuals. State banks are also modelled on commercial banks, so there is a waste of resources in state banks too. These banks, which are wasteful of resources, cannot find sufficient funds for their purposes.

Foreign aid and speculative capital are also failing to contribute to capital formation in Turkey. This aid is shifting towards increasing consumption and facilitating the outflow of foreign exchange.

## **TEMEL GÖRÜŞLER**

The magazine's policy is narrow and will cause hardship for citizens. It runs counter to capital formation.

. To the extent that it is possible to provide the means of taxation, it is necessary to avoid indirect taxes and move towards the direct taxation of goods and income, and to increase taxes in proportion to the size of income.

is necessary.

Our principle in commercial and economic matters is the concept of a wealthy nation and a wealthy state. We must abandon this and adopt a realistic approach. Efforts must be made to ensure that imports and exports are organised in a manner that is absolutely in line with the conditions and interests of the nation and the country, and no opportunity should be given to individuals or institutions to monopolise them. New markets should be sought, with particular emphasis on Middle Eastern countries.

The capital markets law must be enacted without delay; banking regulations that encourage speculation must be thoroughly reviewed. The system and regulations should not be manipulated to benefit the wealthy.

De:free trade

Turkey must embark on rapid development initiatives. In order to achieve development, it is necessary to undertake continuous, productive, income-generating and production-enhancing large-scale investments. Investments, however, require substantial capital accumulation and extensive financial resources. Since Turkey lacks significant capital accumulation, we are compelled to seek alternative solutions for the investments we require. Solutions

## NATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY

One who comes to power must give priority to maritime affairs. Since the upper part of the homeland is surrounded by seas, it is imperative that the Turkish nation become a maritime power.

For many years, those who have governed Turkey have failed to understand the importance of maritime affairs and maritime trade and have not taken the necessary action in this regard.

This attitude has been one of the main reasons for the continued poverty and misery in my country. Maritime affairs and maritime trade are our salvation. They are a magical path to development. The backbone of maritime affairs is the shipbuilding industry. Great importance must be placed on this, and everything necessary must be done to develop this industry.

It is widely accepted that trade has been the most significant factor in the prosperity and economic development of nations. States are relentlessly engaged in this endeavour.

As for our country, which is surrounded by seas, only a small portion of our imports and exports are transported by our own ships due to the inadequacy of our fleet. Unfortunately, the proportion of imports and exports carried by our own ships is at a regrettable level, given that 99.5% of our country's imports and exports are transported by sea. The balance of payments

Our balance of payments deficit covers a significant portion of our foreign trade. The Greek merchant fleet, which was 7,840,826 gross tonnes in 1966, increased by 100% to 15,440,392 gross tonnes in 1971.

has risen significantly. It ranks fifth in the world. In the five-year plan, the necessary steps to be taken in terms of breadth and depth in the shipbuilding industry sector have been listed, but these statements



have been carried over to the next plan period with the same rhetoric, and unfortunately, no serious action has been taken to date.

Today, the Turkish shipping market is in foreign hands. This market must be returned to our national shipowners. Currently, Turkey loses 6 million lira in foreign exchange every day to foreigners for the transport of its own cargo. This amounts to a foreign exchange loss of over 2 billion lira this year.

Turkey cannot maintain its position in the international market without strong shipyards. This can only be achieved by creating conditions in line with global maritime trends under state protection. Today, our national enterprises have fallen behind foreign maritime enterprises because governments have not addressed maritime issues and have failed to steer our maritime sector. Consequently, Turkey is unable to develop its exports.

The most concrete example of this is clearly seen in the market war between Australia, which sells agricultural products to Canada, and our country. Indeed, even though we offer the same type of goods 15% cheaper than Australia, due to transportation by foreign ships, our goods are offered at a \$10 higher price in the Canadian market because of high freight costs.

Our public sector maritime enterprises are truly lacking in terms of shipowning capacity. As a result of this deficiency, our investigation revealed that these companies, which only operate on two foreign routes, allow foreign-flagged ships carrying 1,156,000 tonnes of cargo to "carry" them, while at the same time, our maritime industry *denisciliğizi* at least

## **MİLLÎ KALKINMA VE MİLLÎ İKTİSAT SİYASETİ**

223,000 ira in foreign exchange.

Our vessels must be modernised to meet world standards as quickly as possible. In addition, productive coordination must be established between the country's land transport routes and its shipping systems.

Maritime education should be addressed first. This education should be of a quality that ensures personnel at all levels keep pace with advanced technology in their respective fields.

Unless measures are taken to rapidly advance in maritime affairs, it will not be possible for Turkey to have a strong economy. It would be beneficial to draw the attention of our nation and all stakeholders to this point.

In addition to governments and other official bodies, members of the private sector and every Turkish citizen must also demonstrate initiative to develop our maritime capabilities and rapidly transform the Turkish nation into a maritime nation in the broadest sense.

The rise and development of our Turkey is dependent on the evaluation of the possibilities of maritime affairs and our connection to the seas.

### **The energy issue**

Today, the energy crisis facing our country is actually one of the natural and, at the same time, very dangerous consequences of the policy pursued for years by those responsible for governing Turkey in matters of consumption, economy and industrial development.

If this trend continues, Turkey will face a crisis not only in the energy sector,

## TEMEL GÖRÜŞLER

Despite having steel, machinery, vehicles and similar items, there is still a shortage of many materials, and this will continue to be the case.

The shameful droughts that have appeared in Ankara, Istanbul and other cities, the pollution of nature, The drought and pollution, the lack of animal protein in the diet, unemployment, and poverty are just a few examples of the problems that the short-sighted, disorderly, and unfounded policies mentioned above have gradually plunged our nation into. These are just a few examples.

This mindless policy, which considers imitating the outward appearance of Western civilisation a virtue and presents this imitation to the nation as if it were the fundamental solution to all societal problems, bears the heavy responsibility of, above all, failing to possess a national worldview. For every factory, power station, or similar facility established in our country over the past quarter-century has undoubtedly been created with the aid or assistance provided by a foreign country. Those who present this as a triumph of their policies have gone so far in their actions, which run counter to the flow of Turkish history and the national sentiment and pride of the Turkish people, that they have virtually brainwashed the public into believing that nothing can be achieved in our country without foreign aid.

Thus, the Turkish nation's ability to determine its own destiny has been stifled, and its national creative intellectual power has been left to rust and decay on the sidelines. If, at a time when we are in dire need, s ü i • A-II  
atr industrial organisation, this-

the reason for this the fundamental failures of **economic and** industrial policies, which have been at the forefront, must be sought in the absence of a national philosophy.

Today in Turkey, there is an energy crisis that everyone knows and sees. This crisis will gradually diminish, perhaps even disappear. It is clear that this situation will strike at the heart of the Turkish national revival movement and hinder development. There is no sign on the horizon that this crisis will be resolved from today to tomorrow. Because a society that cannot manufacture its own machinery cannot reach the level of industrialisation required by the 21st century through the help of others. And for this reason, no event has yet occurred that would prove the contrary.

According to experts, almost half of Turkey's daily electricity needs are met by petroleum. Given that Turkey is not an oil-producing country, this fact alone is cause for concern, disturbing enough to keep not only the country's leaders but even ordinary citizens awake at night.

If, for any reason, we cannot import oil tomorrow, the cities of this country will be plunged into darkness, factories will shut down, and it is impossible to predict the consequences.

That being the case, it appears that preparations are underway to construct additional oil power stations in Turkey, in addition to those already in existence.

Turkey is experiencing an energy shortage. The same shortage is also an issue for steel, machinery, and vehicles. Cities are water-

## BASIC VIEWS

is waterless. Drought is increasing. This is because, in order to make the large investments needed to overcome all these bottlenecks, there is a need for machinery, engines, iron, and many other basic investment materials. The Turkish economy and industry have not yet reached a level of maturity where they can grow on their own and without the need for external assistance. This is because, in practice, no policy aimed at achieving such a level has ever been implemented. On the contrary, the recent implementation of the personnel law has created the possibility of outsourcing national engineering services in the public sector to foreign firms.

Due to its highly sensitive nature, the dangerous situation that has arisen in the energy sector today is causing the Turkish nation great distress. Throughout history, this nation has established great states and carried the pride and longing of being a great state as a **historical** legacy. It continues to carry this legacy today. To keep such a nation, within the community of nations, in a state of inertia, having lost its claim to progress and greatness and being subjected to the shame of backwardness, and to insist on this state and prevent it from participating in the race of civilisation, brings with it a heavy historical responsibility. This is the real reason behind the energy crisis we face in Turkey today.

## NATIONAL POPULATION POLICY

Considering our population, the size of our land and our capacity, it is low. Turkey's land is rich enough to comfortably support 100 million people. This is not an opinion or a claim, but a scientifically proven fact.

Another situation is that neighbouring countries are encouraging population growth and their growth rates are steadily increasing. What are our Turkish governments doing about this? Our governments, which cannot even feed encourage population growth, and their growth rates are steadily increasing. What are Turkish governments doing in response? Our governments, which cannot feed our current population, seem to have adopted the principle of "birth control".

According to this view, our population growth will be controlled, and in this way, the income level per capita will increase or, if it is low, it will not decrease. This is nothing more than the administrators admitting and declaring their incompetence.

admitting and declaring their incompetence. It is nothing. While all countries encourage population growth, we consider Turkey's implementation of population control to be deliberate.

Who is helping with population control today? We are receiving foreign aid for this. An aid organisation from an American state is sending us incentive grants for this work. Is this because they love us so much?

Are there other motives behind this? Behind this lies the fear of industrialised, self-sufficient Turkey.

. If these nations truly love us, they should provide this aid not to restrict our population, but to strengthen our economic situation.

The birth control being implemented by the government in our country is, in fact, a betrayal, an assassination attempt on the existence of the Turkish nation, its future, and the future of the Turkish race.

The main goal of this policy, carried out under the guise of birth control or population planning, is to render the Turkish nation powerless and helpless.

Turkey's enemies, who do not want a Turkey with a population of 100 million that Anatolia can comfortably feed and support, are deceiving the government officials with the lie of "birth control". Turkey is not India, China or Japan, nor is it America or Russia. The large populations of these nations are a problem both for themselves and for the world. Turkey's situation does not create such a problem. A hundred years ago, our nation had 13 million people, which meant 1 person per square kilometre, and the greatest need was population. Today, our primary need is still population. In Holland and Belgium, there are 300 people per square kilometre. Based on this ratio, Turkey's land could accommodate at least 150 million people.

It is a very misguided policy to increase the national income by increasing the population. The welfare of the people is achieved by scientifically exploiting the country's underground and above-ground resources and by making good use of human labour without wasting it.

## NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND NATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY

The growth of the *milleti* type constitutes a major driving force for economic development. This is a major driving force. This has been the case in all developed countries.

Furthermore, it should be noted that birth control is contrary to both Islam and national values, as well as being contrary to the principles of the Turkish Republic.

For every Turkish citizen who undergoes birth control, doctors and nurses are paid premiums from foreign sources. As with other movements and behaviours originating abroad, we have determined that this initiative constitutes an assassination and betrayal of the Turkish nation's national existence and future.

Birth control is practised in neighbouring countries around Turkey, in the Balkans, Israel and Iran. In this situation, the fact that birth control, which aims to reduce Turkey's population, is being persistently continued here is a bitter reality that must be given serious consideration.

The population planning currently being implemented in our country is the responsibility of our nation. In recent years, all nations that have experienced industrial and economic development have also experienced significant population growth. It is as if population growth has spurred industrialisation and development in those countries. Given this, it is not appropriate to attempt to prevent the growth of our population.

Finally, let me remind you, that in Turkey a population reduction policy has been pursued under the guise of "birth control," threatening the health of thousands of Turkish women. For our security and for our development, it is essential that our population continues to grow steadily.



RURAL LIFE. RURAL REFORM **VE**  
AGRICULTURAL CITIES



## RURAL LIFE

### The state of our villages and rural life

The foremost issue facing our country is the cause of rural life. 90% of our population is still engaged in agriculture and lives in villages. While our villages bear a large burden of state services, they receive very little attention and assistance.

Since the establishment of the state, the Turkish villager, who has only been given patience, resignation and hardship, has been reduced to a state of starvation

\*'left in a state like fish left on the bone. These hardworking people, who sell their fields, cows and rugs to educate their children and treat their young, struggle to save the seeds they sow in the soil from the mouths of birds and beasts, from harmful insects, and from a thousand other difficulties. But before the wheat fills the barn, the fruit ripens on the tree, or the tobacco is harvested, loan sharks lie in wait at the market, black marketeers at the field boundaries, opportunists on the roads. After all these struggles, even the fields, cows, and sheep in their hands are mortgaged to the banks. The villager appears to be a landowner, a property owner, but in reality, he is not. The sheep are his, but the milk belongs to someone else. He grows the wheat, but his share is barley bread. Unfortunately, the services are on the backs of these millions of people, while the benefits go to a handful of people.

## **VILLAGER , VILLAGE REFORM, and AGRICULTURAL URBANISATION**

It is in their hands. While Turkey's coastlines are being snapped up by opportunists, even the bartender villagers on the coast can only watch the sea from afar. The Turkish villager is pushed to the back when blessings are shared, and is placed at the front when services are rendered. Economic development and balance can only be achieved if the management of property is based on sound , scientific method, national interest, and the clouds of uncertainty must also be addressed.

I wish to express a great concern before the Turkish nation and warn those responsible:

In a country where the gap between poverty and wealth is wide, the rich and the poor drift apart, leading to social and economic It is impossible to prevent the destruction caused by storms that arise when low and high pressure systems form. And it should not be forgotten that the first step in combating mosquitoes is to drain the swamps. In a country where unemployment and favouritism, robbery and bribery go hand in hand, and where misery and despair are on the rise, there can be no talk of a just system.

### **Wrong village policy**

Today's village policy is being implemented from the centre outwards. This is a view that makes village development impossible and increases migration to cities. Village development should be carried out from the periphery towards the centre. Investments in Anatolia will not only provide cheap labour but also prevent the depopulation of villages. The slums surrounding our big cities are caused by nothing other than misguided rural policy.

## TERM VIEWS

### The villagers are unorganised

970% of our nation consists of villagers. Our villagers, however, are today the most disorganised and voiceless group in our country. The narrow-minded groups that migrate to large cities exert influence and pressure on governments because they are organised in various institutions. As a result, wages and salaries are increased. This situation reduces and slows down investments that would increase the country's production.

The main thing is to organise and develop the peasant masses. To this end, it is necessary to give importance to the production economy rather than the consumption economy. Our villages should be organised into village groups and agricultural towns should be established. Cooperatives should be adapted to the specific circumstances of our country and our people, and our people should be organised into production and processing unions. Our peasants should also be organised in this way.

If this is achieved, it will be possible to resolve many of their problems. can be addressed.

Organising our entire nation into production and consumption cooperatives and establishing these institutions, will greatly facilitate our development by making the necessary investments for the industrialisation of our country.

### Certain measures.

Agricultural policy should be designed to evaluate the opportunities in agriculture and eliminate limiting factors.

### VILLAGE THREE, VILLAGE REFORM, AND AGRICULTURAL CITIES

The structural deficiencies in agriculture must be rectified, and economically viable family farms must be established; these should be regarded as fundamental elements in structural reform.

The yield of both plant and animal products in Turkey is extremely low. For this reason, productivity in agriculture must be increased, and fertilisers, seeds, pesticides, irrigation, good nutrition and artificial insemination facilities that increase productivity must be provided to farmers in a timely and efficient manner.

The production of our products should be planned with the aim of improving the nutrition of our people, increasing exports, meeting the raw material needs of our industry, and taking into account domestic and foreign market conditions.

Our soils face an increasing threat of erosion year after year. Overgrazing and disorder in our pastures are a cause for concern. Increasing the number of animals instead of increasing the amount of land per animal is not an example of progress. Our level of animal production is also very low.

Within the team, state and private sector investments should be increased to sufficient levels. Our country possesses extensive land resources and has the potential to cultivate all kinds of crops. and diverse climatic characteristics. Despite this, agricultural loans are inadequate. The volume of agricultural credit should be increased and integrated into a system. The Agricultural Bank's own resources should be reinforced, and coordination should be ensured by linking it to the Ministry of Agriculture.

to the Ministry of Agriculture.

Marketing services in our country are still primitive.

. In order for farmers to be able to evaluate their goods, modern marketing methods should be applied, and the education and training of farmers should be addressed to the fullest extent. The large and hidden population working in agriculture

Unemployment is a reality. While this issue is being addressed in industry, the agricultural industry must be taken into consideration and the transfer of population to the agricultural industry must be prioritised.

The situation of our forest villages is also heartbreaking. For this reason, we consider the establishment of a forest products industry in forest areas to be of vital importance.

Cooperatives should be developed, and farmers should be encouraged to take an active role in them. By establishing a cooperative in every village, we can create what we call Agricultural Towns.

and in the third five-year plan,

Cooperative unions should be established in these villages, and at least six villages should be connected to each other.

Furthermore, usury and profiteering, which have engulfed our country, must be prevented in a definitive manner. Our peasants and producers are being crushed by usurers. Unless measures are taken to eliminate them, the political and social peace of our country cannot be secured. Our peasants must be freed from being slaves and victims of a consumption economy based on luxury and waste. Rural towns must be organised. Governments must address this issue promptly.

The activities of our banks, especially the Agricultural Bank, towards the peasants are very limited and inadequate. Producers are being crushed by usurers and are experiencing great hardship. Usury is rampant throughout our country.

and is a harmful activity for our nation in every sphere of society. Freeing the people from the hands of usurers is one of our most urgent tasks.

It is necessary to organise our villages, primarily the villagers,

. It would be beneficial to organise our villages as agricultural towns and in the form of production cooperatives.

Turkish villagers and producers are currently in a very difficult situation. The base prices set by the government for the products they produce are inadequate. All the basic necessities that villagers and producers are forced to purchase are rapidly becoming more expensive and continue to rise in price. In contrast, the base prices set by the government are low, and it is not possible for producers to sell their products at official prices. Neither the economic state organisation nor the state organisation acting as a buyer

They do not have sufficient credit and facilities. They cannot purchase all of the producer's goods. In this situation, the peasant is left at the mercy of merchants and moneylenders. The merchant purchases the producer's goods not at the official base price set by the government, but at a lower price.

Agricultural product pricing policy is part of the general government policy. The government's influence in grain remains limited and, as in the case of grain purchases, it cannot establish complete control. This is to the detriment of the producer. Playing with prices alone



## BASIC VIEWS

Goods are not sufficient to increase the production of agricultural products. Price measures should reduce the cost per unit of the product, and other measures should be taken in conjunction with this. Until these measures are taken, it cannot be said that the farmer's health, property and risk are secure.

### Forest villages

Our villagers living in forest villages are facing great difficulties due to the pressure of the existing forest law. A situation has arisen in which forest villagers are forced into starvation or imprisonment by harsh laws without providing them with new means of livelihood. The issues cannot be resolved with dry prohibitions and violent laws.

The development of the Turkish nation, the protection of forests...

The efficient operation of the plant and the team largely depends on the implementation of a scientific fuel policy. The Turkish nation must be freed from using manure as fuel, and manure must be returned to the fields. In addition to the rich lignite deposits in Merileke-timis, there are other possibilities for meeting fuel needs. A fuel office should be established to swiftly address this issue.

The price of fuel gas should be reduced, and the burden of collecting firewood and drying dung should be lifted from our women. Gas stoves, which can be easily manufactured in state factories, should be distributed to villagers at low prices. In this way, both forests should be protected and comfort provided.

## VILLAGE REFORM

### Land reform or village reform?

The realisation of our national unity depends on the improvement of the rural community structure, which encompasses a large part of our population. The rural community is the gateway to...

Its rectification requires the implementation of social, economic and cultural measures. Rural development cannot be achieved through a narrowly defined land reform. If we compare the current rural population and its annual growth rate with the amount of land that can be distributed, it becomes clear that land reform alone is nothing more than a misleading measure. Therefore, the task at hand is to implement narrowly defined land reform on the one hand, and rural reform on the other. Today, there are around 60,000 villages in our country.

Twenty-five million people live in these villages. In order to enable people living in villages to live humanely, it is essential to provide every village with infrastructure and superstructure facilities, cultural and social facilities such as schools and hospitals. However, it is not possible to bring these facilities to 60,000 villages. In this situation, it is necessary to unite the villages in terms of social, economic and cultural services. For this purpose, the most suitable village is selected from among the villages established in the region. This is called the *"central village"*.

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

All infrastructure facilities, socio-cultural services and institutions are concentrated in this village. Thus, services are brought directly to the village, and the villages have become urbanised, turning into towns. The surrounding villages are connected to the central village from all directions. As this village is an economic and cultural centre, the facilities and businesses here will operate, and a certain proportion of the civil servants, workers and employees will be recruited primarily from the surrounding villages. This will provide employment opportunities for the accumulated army of open and hidden unemployment in the village, and the surplus population in the village will be transferred to the industrial and service sectors.

In our view, just as other reforms are needed, there is also an urgent need for land reform. However, it is impossible to consider land reform separately from agricultural reform, industrial reform, the redistribution of the population, and social and legal reforms.

"Agricultural reform" entails analysing the land, allocating each plot to the most profitable agricultural use, utilising both surface and groundwater for agriculture, taking measures to prevent erosion, the establishment of organisations to ensure the use of agricultural tools and equipment, the use of pesticides and fertilisers, the insurance of agricultural products, the facilitation and economic optimisation of the sales, transport and distribution system, and the prevention of usury.

With "land reform", we have made it our cause and claim to destroy the estates of the landlords who own 8-10 or more villages, and the improvement of the social conditions of peasants tied to the land. On the other hand, we have made it our cause and claim to prevent usury, which is caused by land divisions that lead to non-productive farming through inheritance.

## KÖYCÜLÜK, KÖY REFORMU ve TARIM KENTLERİ

We envisage the adoption of legal and economic measures, as well as the implementation of projects that will encompass the transfer of 25 per cent or even more of the population to industry and other sectors.

### Industrialisation and land reform

At the root of Turkey's problems lie the issues of education and industrialisation. Unless these are resolved, it will not be possible to get other matters on track. The issue of land reform is also related to these.

Agriculture and land reform must support industrialisation. The state should not establish large enterprises but should encourage private initiative and determine the smallest operational unit in each region in order to operate the sparsely populated lands, which are becoming less productive due to the population drawn to industry, efficiently and rationally.

The point is, it's not just about  is not just about how much money my wife earns, but about keeping waste of tools, materials and labour to a minimum and maximising  how much yield can be obtained from the field.

Land reform before industrialisation will give rise to social, economic and political crises. Yesterday's neglect is the cause of today's anarchy. Today's recklessness may also disrupt tomorrow.

### Land reform efforts

Land reform, to put it briefly, is the increase in agricultural production and the provision of sufficient land for the landless or those with insufficient land.

## TEMBL VIEWS

It is the provision of land to peasants who do not own any. Our Turkey is a country based on an agricultural economy. Countries based on an agricultural economy are considered economically underdeveloped. In such countries, a large proportion of the population lives in villages. Indeed, today, nearly two-thirds of our population lives in our villages. With the land reform envisaged by the government, it is impossible for our rural population to achieve material prosperity and live humanely.

Today, the total area of Turkey is 776,000 square kilometres. This equates to 776 million acres. If we divided this land among our 30 million people, each person would receive 80 acres. The 776 million acres include Lake Van and Mount Ararat, the Konya deserts, and the plots of land on which I built my houses. Turkey's total arable land is 160 million acres. If we divide this among our 30 million villagers, each person would get 8 acres of land. This means that even with the method they advocate, our problem cannot be solved. Even if land reform is considered in the most radical form of land redistribution, it would only be possible to distribute the available land to 150,000 peasant families. However, the number of peasant families who have no land or do not have enough land is around 3 million. For this reason, we say that land reform alone is not a sufficient measure.

We are a party that advocates land reform. However, we advocate it in a different way from other parties that support land reform.

Today, agriculture\*• s 1 2lüflsumuz, general nüfusumuzun yüzde yetmiş ikisidir. A country, especially an industrialised country, cannot achieve prosperity through agriculture.

## RURAL LIFE, RURAL REFORM AND AGRICULTURAL CITIES

is a reality, and it is ridiculous to insist that we are an agricultural country. Turkey's underground and above-ground wealth and our geopolitical position compel us to industrialise. The population must be increased to start industrialisation.

A land and agricultural reform to be announced will achieve success.

. This idea must be accepted as fundamental. Once this is done, the issue of land registration and cadastral surveys must be resolved, and the matter of cooperatives or, as we call them, "form Rettferi," must be settled by establishing a system of cooperatives. We are in favour of an agricultural and land reform that is intelligently implemented, does not constitute a transition to collectivism, and positively impacts production and productivity by assisting industrialisation.

### Land consolidation

Land reform is not merely about land distribution. Land distribution is only one element of land reform. The other two important elements of land reform are consolidating small plots of land and preventing the division of land. In our country, 87% of plots are less than 100 acres. \*

Agricultural holdings smaller than 100 acres are far from being economically viable. Therefore, the first reform to be implemented is the consolidation of land divided into small parcels.

. Land consolidation should be mandatory .

. Today, compulsory land consolidation is carried out in democratic countries such as Belgium. It is not possible to implement voluntary consolidation. Furthermore, due to inheritance, the division of land ma-

### 3<sup>rd</sup> EMEL VIEWS

The provisions to be enacted are also important. In land distribution, the upper limit for private property is a very important issue. Large enterprises are more efficient in agricultural economics. Given the conditions in our country, the private land to be distributed will be determined by taking into account the population conditions of various regions, covering no more than 1,250 acres of irrigated land and 2,500 acres of dry land. Leaving smaller plots of land to landowners would undermine the economic benefits expected from land reform. On the other hand, priority should be given to the Southeast and East regions in land reform. This is because in these regions, 100 villages are owned by individuals or families, which is contrary to the democratic way of life of our nation and human dignity.

### Co-operation

Co-operation is a complementary element of land reform. Agricultural management requires technology, capital and marketing. Small farmers cannot achieve this on their own. It can only be realised through union and solidarity. This can only be achieved through cooperatives, which are economic organisations. However, freedom is fundamental in a democratic system. The guarantee of freedom is private property.

The guarantee of freedom is private property. For this reason, peasants joining a cooperative must retain private and individual ownership of their land. Granting cooperative ownership rights leads to the emergence of kolkhozes, as in the Soviet model.

A standard of living befitting human dignity

## PEASANTRY, AGRICULTURAL REFORM AND AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

It will be achieved. With Agricultural Colours, while the villagers gain access to water, electricity, roads, schools, hospitals, in short, the conditions necessary for human life, on the other hand, will contribute to our economic development through the savings it will make thanks to increased agricultural production and the substantial income it will generate. The starting point for the agricultural towns movement is the establishment of village industries. In this way, agricultural towns pursue the goal of industrialising our country and, consequently, our villagers. Rural industry will be financed by the savings of the villagers and the assistance provided by the state. On the one hand, agricultural towns will provide villagers and rural communities with industrial facilities, and on the other hand, it will lead to the implementation of productive land reform. In our view, land and agricultural reform consists of four actions: preventing the division of agricultural land, consolidating fragmented agricultural land and holdings, expropriating private land above a certain size in exchange for compensation and distributing it to landless or land-poor villagers, and finally, establishing a system based on labour and property ownership. property rights, and having no connection to the Marxist cooperatives in the country, is entirely village-based.

It is a cooperative movement that reflects the will of the people.

Any land and

agricultural reform is doomed to fail.

### Cadastral issues

It is necessary to exclude gardens and vineyards from the scope of land reform. Because gardens and vineyards require a large investment, a great deal of labour



## 'BASIC PRINCIPLES

. The Draft Measures for Land Reform has presented a flawed picture by including vineyards and gardens within the scope of land reform. However, we note that the commission has correctly removed this article. If vineyards and gardens are included in land reform, their owners will face significant labour and investment costs.

, they will destroy it, they will turn this place into a wasteland. Only 2% of our cultivated land consists of vineyards and gardens, and these are mostly small plots: half an acre, one acre, three acres, five acres, at most 50 acres.

100 is in force. On the other hand, we believe that the provision in the draft law on land reform *u rin*, which prevents the acquisition of property through ownership, does not correspond to the realities of our country. The state cannot blame its citizens without performing its public service duties. One of the most important services the state provides in relation to land is the registration and cadastral survey of land. Because this organisation has not been established as required in our country, only 30% of our land has undergone cadastral survey, while 70% has not. Only about 40% of our land has genuine and valid title deeds. Therefore, if the provisions of the Land Reform Ten Measures Law are implemented, the ownership of 70% of the land, which has title deeds and is based on possession, will be transferred to the state. Let us note here that nationalisation is not a social reform, but a social revolution. In states governed by the rule of law, revolutions are not carried out; reforms, corrections and improvements are made. Moreover, in accordance with the social aspect of land reform, the landless or smallholders...

Since land will be allocated to them, whose ownership are the lands to be nationalised without title deeds under? Let us immediately state that these lands—

These lands are in the hands of our poor villagers. Because our villagers have been left poor and uneducated, and because the state has failed to provide the public services of land registration and cadastral surveying, these lands will be taken from the villagers, and without compensation. This will create social unrest rather than social peace in the country, and will run counter to the fundamental meaning and spirit of land reform. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the land whose title deeds have been revoked belongs to large landowners who are being brought within the scope of land reform. In this case, the provision in the law stating that real estate ownership cannot be revoked will cause more harm than good and will therefore increase internal unrest.

## AGRICULTURAL TOWNS

One of the most important issues in establishing economic democracy is the matter of villages and villagers. Today, two-thirds of our population lives in villages. There are around 10,000 villages. As our villagers are Turkish people, they must attain a standard of living that befits human dignity. However, in most of our villages, even the most basic services are lacking. It is impossible to find roads, water, electricity, hospitals, schools, libraries, doctors, midwives, or teachers in every village. This results in our villagers living in primitive conditions. , in this country, his < seIl i1 , his b'l the government has no right\_ We must gather our villages around service centres and establish agricultural towns.

We have been advocating this view for years, and although it has been included in the Third Five-Year Plan, I do not believe that the current political powers will be able to implement this project. These are policies of appeasement and procrastination. Agricultural towns will change the social and economic structure of our villagers. Factories, workshops, small manufacturing plants, modern schools and hospitals will be established in every agricultural town. As with , the savings of our villages can be utilised in the establishment of agricultural towns. , ,

## AGRICULTURAL REFORM, VILLAGE REFORM, AND AGRICULTURAL RENT

will give priority to these institutions through incentives and credit measures. It should not be forgotten that in the 16th century, when the Ottoman Empire reached its highest political and economic level, the number of villages ranged between 8 and 10 thousand. In developed societies and countries, instead of small and fragmented villages, there are large, developed villages. With agricultural rents, our villages will become major economic, social and cultural centres:

### Agricultural towns and development

Today, there are 40,000 villages and 62,000 settlements in Turkey. In this case, if we calculate the minimum requirements for each village, namely a school, a mosque, a midwife, a health officer, a doctor, two teachers, an imam and a road network connecting the village, we arrive at the following result:

40,000 Mosques,  
40,000 schools,  
40,000 fountains,  
40,000 Imams,  
40,000 midwives,  
40,000 health workers,  
80,000 teachers and a road network connecting 40,000 villages are the minimum requirements.

If we divide the rural population of 20,000,000 among 40,000 villages, the average population of villages in Turkey is 500. The average distance between villages is 5 km, and a minimum of 200,000 km of roads is required.

Without these conditions being met, the citizen's residence in the village amounts to abandonment to nature. Meeting these conditions would entail enormous expense.

Given that the distance between villages is 5 km, the border junction between two villages is located 2.5 km from the village centre. This distance means that it takes at least half an hour to reach the nearest field.

This means that if we switch to mechanised agriculture today, a half-hour journey by tractor will cover 10-12 km. In this case, the natural consequence of mechanised agriculture is the consolidation of 8-12 villages. With the merging of villages, all needs will be reduced to one-tenth, and the road network will be resolved with 80,000 km. Only the savings made from the road network can enable the state to build these new villages - agricultural towns. Today, 99% of our village houses are symbols of poverty, consisting of four walls and a roof, lacking in health and safety.

Agricultural towns with a population of 5,000 will ensure the establishment of handicrafts and newly established industries in these areas, preventing the formation of shanty towns and ensuring the birth of a prosperous Turkey with running water, mobile butane gas and electricity in every home.

A settlement will be established around a square, with a glass factory, school, dispensary, agricultural machinery cooperative, administrative buildings, orderly streets and a market; the distinction between village and city will disappear, and three-quarters of the agricultural population will shift to industry and services, achieving the goal of a strong nation and a prosperous homeland. Mobile filming crews will visit every village\* every week. Agricultural needs

### **VILLAGERS, VILLAGE REFORM, AND AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES**

Tools and equipment will be rented interest-free at harvest time, and all types of fertiliser and seeds will be provided under the same terms.

By the time this stage is reached , an average of 4 million people in Turkey will be engaged in agriculture, and farms consisting of family businesses of 250 acres will be established.

All these principles will be implemented over time, taking into account geographical and economic conditions. In reaching this stage, consent and preference for the good will be the guiding principles.

As Turkey undergoes the restructuring described above, the housing of civil servants and teachers will be resolved automatically.

## FOREIGN POLICY

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## NATIONALISM FOREIGN POLICY

## THE AGE OF NATIONALISM AND

The era of nationalism in which we live continues. Relations between nations and states on the world stage are governed solely and exclusively by national interests. Organised in the form of states, societies...

They live as nations and maintain their contacts with each other as separate nations. It has never been seen that any society has emerged under the name of the people or peoples of a particular country.

. Instead, nations are governed by a mentality that prioritises the interests of privileged groups within their own borders, rather than one that anticipates the welfare, advancement, and development of the masses.

, they are governed by a mentality that prioritises the welfare, advancement and development of the masses.

In the latter half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, the view that the proletariat would dominate the world, that the meaning of nation and nationalism would be replaced by the proletariat, and that internationalism would prevail,

It has been claimed by some that a humanist system will be established. Despite these views, events have unfolded differently. In no country has any similar system outside the proletarian system been eliminated and abolished, nor has a separate system emerged in the view of riilliyetsii>

## FOREIGN POLICY OF

Despite having c o m m u n i s t regimes, many communist countries have become bloody, bitter enemies of each other due to the sale of national interests. The hostility caused by the sale of national interests, which first appeared between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, later spread to Albania and the Soviet Union, and Hungary and the Soviet Union.

It also occurred between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. Yugoslavia, which had the close support of the West, was able to escape Soviet aggression, and Albania was also able to defend itself due to the opportunities afforded by its geographical position. However, Hungary was violently overrun by Russian tanks, and Czechoslovakia was later invaded by force.

At this time, relations between the two major communist blocs, the Soviet Union and China, deteriorated due to the pursuit of national interests, leading to bloody border clashes between the two sides, and tensions between them continue to this day.

In contrast, the United States, a capitalist country, Western European states, and Japan, also a capitalist country, have pursued very close relations and agreements with both communist China and the Soviet Union. It seems highly probable that a major war will break out between Communist China and Communist Russia in the next 15 years. The parties have already embarked on a major political, military and economic struggle for this.

Given the circumstances summarised above, it is clear that we are living in an era of nationalism.

## WHAT IS FOREIGN POLICY?

### Introduction

It is a well-known fact that nations cannot exist alone in the world. They live in relation to the world community created by many other nations. In this respect, foreign relations are a science that is extremely important for the life, development, survival and protection of a state and a nation, and one that must not be overlooked.

Foreign relations are extremely important for the life, development, survival, and protection of a state or a nation, and it is a science that must not be overlooked.

Upon entering our subject, we will sadly observe that foreign policy is often taken lightly by those who govern our country. Foreign policy is not a matter that anyone can simply take up, conduct, and handle. It requires special knowledge, science, diligence, training and experience. Furthermore, it can only be successfully conducted by individuals who are capable, knowledgeable and of sound character, who are familiar with the characteristics of the country they serve, who are imbued with its national spirit, who have a good understanding of its national history, and who have properly identified its national objectives.

### What is foreign policy?

Foreign policy means the relations of a nation with foreigners to the maximum extent of national interests.

## FOREIGN POLICY

There are various ways to describe this. There are also many other definitions. It would be useful to mention one of the most famous ones. They say that politics is "the art of using the opportunities and conditions available in the best possible way." The politics of a state must comply with the geopolitical situation of that country, that is, with certain conditions imposed by its geography. It must be shaped according to the national ideal of the nation.

It takes shape and direction according to its national history, its own social situation, and the philosophy of life of that nation. Its philosophy of life, its view of life, its political views, and its views on the regime are all part of this. Politics is determined according to the national goals that a nation wants to achieve and maintain.

### What is the foremost national objective?

First and foremost among national objectives is the preservation of that nation's independence and territorial integrity. Therefore, the primary task of foreign policy is to anticipate and identify all kinds of threats in advance and prevent them, ensuring the independence and territorial integrity of that nation and that country. After that, it is necessary to arrange and organise the activities required to secure greater political, military, and economic interests.

Civilisations and great movements arise from people's constant desire and will to achieve more. Civilisations and great movements arise from people's constant desire to find what is better, to obtain what is more beautiful, to achieve more,

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

The desire and will to find something better, something greater, to possess it, arises from within humanity. If this feeling, which exists within humanity, were to be removed, people would remain where they are, and civilisations would be buried. After that, the birth of new civilisations would not be possible. Political activities are the same. Nations and states always act with the desire, will, and feeling to achieve greater prosperity, gain more wealth, become more powerful, gain more influence, grow more, and expand. If we examine the events that have occurred throughout history and the lives of various nations, we see that this is the case. When a society loses this feeling and perspective, it gradually fades and collapses in terms of civilisation. In political life, it also suffers the same fate, weakens and collapses. This means that foreign policy

After the first objective, the next consideration will be to ensure that his own nation and country always enjoy greater political, military and economic advantages, and to maintain this.

Throughout history, many empires and states have been established and fought each other for this reason. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, imperialism has suffered major blows. The awakening of nations and peoples has led to the struggle against exploitation, and imperialist empires have collapsed in places. However, under the influence of events, imperialism and colonialism have changed form. The current form is the spread of culture and friendship .

It is a form of infiltration. In many places, foreign states establish hospitals, schools, and other institutions, creating many situations where they perform charitable work. The straw we examined is our own.

## FOREIGN POLICY

We see that his homeland also needs many more hospitals and schools. So why is so much affection shown towards us? In today's world, economically developed countries use a new method to gain benefits from other countries: spreading culture and gaining access through friendship. If nations do not take precautions against this, they will naturally suffer great loss and damage. If they are vigilant, measures will be taken against them. It is like a race, a struggle. Whoever is more honourable, more energetic, more alert, more cautious, and fights, protects their rights and does not let them be trampled upon. And they secure the interests of their own nation, their own country.

### Two styles of politics

A state's policy is conducted in two **distinct activities** according to national interests. One of these is the main policy. The other is daily politics. The main policy is a long-term plan that sets out the state's real objectives. It is long-term. It is not short-term, two-week, three-month, six-month or five-year; it is long-term, at least 50 years, 100 years, 200 years... States that pursue a policy like an ostrich burying its head in the sand, without considering tomorrow, suddenly face surprises and lose a great deal. Therefore, **the main policy** is a long-term plan that outlines **national objectives**. It cannot be compromised. The main policy must be kept confidential, not disclosed, and implemented for generations to come.

#### 'BASIC PERSPECTIVE'

Daily policy, on the other hand, is the implementation of the core policy.

- These are activities carried out in a planned manner according to the prevailing conditions. The daily political necessity may require a period that is different from or contrary to the main policy.

We can give an example from the Balkan War. We know that the Balkan states entered the Balkan War of 1912-1913 as an alliance. Greece, Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria formed an alliance against the Ottoman Empire. However, in terms of their main policies, they had many demands and certain interests against each other. But against the Ottoman Empire, they set aside their main policies according to the circumstances of the day and united. After defeating the Ottoman Empire, they then went to war with each other. In other words, until they declared war on the Ottoman Empire and achieved their goal, they postponed their main policies against each other. After that, they went to war with each other. As is well known, they took some territories from Bulgaria.

#### Foreign policy and domestic policy

Foreign policy and domestic policy are closely intertwined. If a state is not united, devoted to each other, loyal, conscious, and peaceful, its foreign policy will be worthless. No matter how stable, peaceful, and secure a state is, if it is not united, devoted to each other, loyal, hand in hand, with the same ideals and national goals behind it, if they are united, the foreign policy of that state will also be

to that extent, it will be robust and successful. Foreign policy and domestic policy mutually reinforce each other and influence one another.

### Politics and its relationship with strategy

The renowned German general Klawzeich—whose works have entered the classics of world political and military literature—has a work titled "On War."

He has another work entitled "The Principles of War," which is studied as a classic in all countries around the world, both in schools teaching political science and in military academies. War is "the continuation of politics by other means." In other words, the essence is politics; it is the national goal. Seeing no possibility of achieving this goal through peaceful means, they resort to force. Peace, on the other hand, consists of various relations and activities pursued without resorting to armed conflict. strategy and the command and control of the army must be under the command of politics. Although this is the case, strategic necessities must not be ignored in the conduct of politics. I can give an example from history: remember the famous military campaign launched by the Germans against France in 1940; Hitler stopped the German armies, which had surrounded the British, 30 km from Antwerp. The reason for this halt was a psycho-political consideration. He was fixated on the idea that "if we destroy the British army here, British pride will be wounded and the British will be inclined to make peace with us." However, the strategy of " " never stopped.



#### BASIC VIEWS

to continue to the end and order the destruction of the British forces there by throwing them into the sea. All the Romanians, all the generals insist on this. But Hitler says "no". Of course, according to the results reached after the war, this was determined to be a big mistake. Therefore, the men who will carry these out

well-trained men                      well-trained, who can calculate these matters very well.

—  
and measured them very well. Because they all have a mutual influence on each other.

## FROM THE SECOND WORLD WAR

## ONWAR

### DS

The political changes in the world are closely related to developments in science and technology. At the end of the Second World War, the United States possessed the atomic bomb, developed by harnessing the power of splitting the atomic nucleus. The Communist bloc, however, held the upper hand in terms of conventional military strength. Yet, in the face of the atomic bomb's mass destruction capability, the Communist bloc could not utilise this superiority. Thus, two superpowers emerged on Earth: the Soviet Union and the United States. One possessed a very powerful, technologically superior weapon, while the other had superior conventional forces in terms of numbers and quality. Faced with this situation, other states eventually clustered around these two great superpowers. The countries that the Soviets had effectively occupied at the end of the Second World War were forced to accept the regime imposed on them and submit to their hegemony. Western European democracies, wishing to protect their freedom and independence, considered it in their national interest to rally around the United States in the face of the communist threat. Thus, the world was divided into two major blocs.

. Apart from these, there were fourth and fifth-class states that claimed to be neutral, but in reality, these countries were always within the sphere of influence of the West.

The Second World War brought humanity face to face with two great dangers. One of these is the danger posed by weapons of mass destruction, known as "atomic and nuclear weapons". As is well known, these weapons have three types of lethal and destructive effects. One is the effect of pressure and impact, another is the effect of heat and incineration, and the third is the lethal effect caused by radiation. The effects of these weapons spread over areas hundreds, even thousands of kilometres long and wide. Thus, it would be possible to wipe out millions of people in a short time by dropping one or more bombs on an urban area. If countries possessing these weapons were to attempt to use them in a war, it could lead to the destruction of all humanity and civilisation on Earth.

#### Population and foreign policy

Another danger is the ever-increasing rate of global population growth. According to long-standing research and statistics, *the amount of food available* on Earth is increasing arithmetically, yet the human population is growing geometrically ( ).

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metric series). If this trend continues and

\*no measures are taken, in the coming centuries there will not be enough food on Earth to feed the population, and as a result, terrible, painful events will occur among humans. It is said that "to prevent this danger, birth control must be implemented now to reduce the rate of reproduction." The countries with the highest birth rates are India, South America and African countries. There are also other countries that will follow suit. *Birth control is not harmful.*

### Blockades

The Western democracies gathered around the United States formed an alliance known as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, or **NATO** for short. From the end of the Second World War until the Russians began manufacturing atomic bombs, a strategy of "sword and shield" prevailed between the two blocs. Accordingly, if the communist bloc, relying on its numerical superiority, launched an attack with conventional forces, NATO's conventional forces, which were fewer in number but balanced, would counter it, defend themselves, and buy time. Meanwhile, **the US** would attack Russia with its atomic weapons, inflicting massive destruction and securing victory. This "Sword-Shield" strategy generally ensured peace. After the Soviets acquired the atomic bomb, **the United States** maintained its superiority in certain areas, but its own territory remained vulnerable to nuclear attack.

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

faced the danger of destruction. Thus, a *balance* of terror emerged between the two sides. This balance of terror ensured the continuation of general peace on earth. However, both sides did not delay in finding new methods to secure their national interests. Without risking a general nuclear war that would endanger themselves, they continued to pursue their policies by waging regional wars or underground wars, or by organising ideological political movements, rebellions, and uprisings. The Korean War, the Vietnam War, the underground movements in Burma, the Israeli-Arab wars, the rebellions and uprisings in Africa, and the wars in other countries followed one another and did not stop for a moment. A relentless and relentless propaganda campaign was waged. In countries that were to be subjugated and forced to submit, the people were skilfully incited to divide and conquer. These provocations were carried out on the basis of religion, sect, race and regionalism. For example, the provocations carried out between Croats and Macedonians in Yugoslavia are particularly noteworthy. Furthermore, the sectarian conflicts in Ireland and the regional conflicts in Spain demonstrate the extent to which these underground (subversive) movements have been taken. Meanwhile, the provocations carried out among the Bengali people in Pakistan, an important member of the **CENTO** and NATO alliances, led to the Indo-Pakistani War and the partition of Pakistan.

Initially, Anglo-Saxon countries, namely America and England, possessed atomic and nuclear weapons, which Russia later also manufactured and acquired.

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In response to this situation, France, one of NATO's important allies, also began to demand that atomic and nuclear weapons be given to it. However, these demands were not accepted by the Anglo-Saxon states. In response, former French President General De Gaulle argued that it was meaningless to conceal and withhold information about the atomic bomb and weapons possessed by the communist bloc, which was causing tension within NATO, from NATO members.

stating that "France must definitely join the Atomic Club," he embarked on the production of French national atomic weapons. On the other hand, he chose a more flexible and independent policy path by shirking NATO's military obligations. In a short time, the French State also acquired atomic weapons and aircraft capable of carrying atomic missiles. Thus,

The weapons, which were previously monopolised by the United States, became the monopoly of four countries: . Shortly afterwards, Communist China began conducting atomic bomb tests and became the fifth country in the world to possess atomic weapons. In addition to these, countries such as Japan, India, Germany and Israel, which have not yet been confirmed to have developed atomic weapons but possess the scientific, technical and economic capabilities to do so at any time, are being noted with interest by political observers.

, such as Japan, India, Germany, and Israel, are being closely monitored by political observers.

### **Economic Unions**

At the end of the Second World War, the world was in a state of extreme exhaustion and impoverished,

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

They managed to recover quickly and formed an economic union comprising France, Italy, Germany, Luxembourg, Belgium and the Netherlands. This *economic* union, known as the "Common Market," also served as a precursor to the political idea of a "United States of Europe." Thanks to their scientific and technical efforts and the reorganisation of their industries, the countries of Western Europe gradually freed themselves from the dominance of the United States and became a major force in their own right. Meanwhile, Japan has also made a major leap forward in scientific, technical and industrial terms, emerging as a major economic and political power capable of competing with Western Europe and the United States. Thus, in the present dayera, a third superpower has emerged on the world's political stage alongside the two old superpowers. Consequently, the world has entered a period of politics shaped by the political and economic relations of five superpowers: the United States, the Soviet Union, Western Europe, China, and Japan.

International politics today is undergoing major changes. The global balance of power is shifting, and new superpowers are emerging. In the past, the global balance of power was based on the equilibrium between the United States and the Soviet Union. Today, alongside these two superpowers, three new superpowers have emerged: the European Union, Japan, and Communist China. The global balance of power is being re-established according to the relationships between these five superpowers. Among these superpowers, the situation of the Turkish State must be re-evaluated.

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and make the choice that best suits our national interests. Europe is rapidly moving towards the ideal of a United Europe. To this end, the developed countries of Europe, known as the "Dozens", have established a Common Market among themselves.



## TURKEY AND THE NATO ALLIANCE

### Its establishment and mission

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), established after the Second World War, is one of the great alliances lost to history. This agreement was initially signed by ten European and two American states.

It was formed for defensive purposes, under the leadership of the United States, to bring together Western democracies against Stalin's aggressive and expansionist activities, which aimed to bring the devastated and ruined Western Europe into the communist fold and to extend his influence to Africa by taking control of the Middle East.

The possibility that the Berlin blockade might lead to a new world war emerged, and the NATO alliance, formed at a time when communist propaganda and underground activities were rapidly advancing in Western Europe and the Middle East, which were not under Soviet occupation, provided significant support to free nations. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation was established for the purpose of legitimate defence against attacks from the communist bloc, and this characteristic is clearly stated and explained in the written provisions of the agreement.

Throughout history, various states have formed alliances against common enemies. Milletler-

The fundamental principle in relations between states is the exchange of national interests.

In the face of powerful enemy threats, it is a natural and normal course of action for every state to combine its resources and capabilities with other states in order to establish a balance of power and protect its own existence.

In our country, communists portray Turkey's decision to join NATO, rather than relying solely on its own resources, as a grave mistake and argue that our state should remain outside all kinds of alliances. However, communist countries, primarily Soviet Russia ( ), have entered into political and military alliances.

#### Advantages and disadvantages

Wars mostly arise from the desire to attack created by the imbalance of power between states. It is unreasonable to expect states with a balance of power between them, which have no chance of winning if they attack, to go to war. The countries of Western Europe, crushed under the impact of the heavy destruction and losses of the Second World War, were in a state of social, economic and political weakness, which spurred the Soviet Bloc's desire for attack and conquest. The misery and hardship caused by the Second World War spurred the Soviet Bloc's desire for attack and conquest.

, which was under the heavy impact of the devastation and losses of the Second World War, was whipping up the Soviet Bloc's desire for attack and conquest. The misery and hardship caused by the Second World War provided ample opportunity for communist agitation and propaganda in Western European countries.

propaganda. It was against this

#### BASIC PERSPECTIVE

By combining their forces and resources within NATO, the twelve Western powers created a balance of **power** against the offensive forces of the communist bloc. This made it possible to preserve peace. Faced with attacks and determined to defend themselves, Stalin and Khrushchev were forced to take cautious steps when they saw that an alliance had been formed.

Furthermore, the nations of Western Europe, exhausted and weary from the Second World War, were saved from despair and hopelessness by the NATO alliance and gained a sense of security, realising they were not alone. This **enabled** member nations to work swiftly and embark on their path to development.

The main issue in all alliances is the harmonisation of the mutual interests of member states and the establishment of sincere cooperation through good coordination. Powerful states within alliances always try to pull their weaker allies in the direction they desire. It is *very* important for member states in alliances to trust each other and to maintain this trust. In order to achieve this, responsibilities in the management of alliances must be shared according to the capabilities and capacities of the members, while political authority must be shared on the basis of equality. Military powers, on the other hand, should be determined according to geographical factors.

From the very first days of the establishment of the NATO alliance, responsibilities were assigned disproportionately, while political powers were distributed according to the view of large states, small states

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It has been determined accordingly. For example, from NATO's inception until the very end, a headquarters called the Permanent Group was established at the highest level of the military organisation. Within this headquarters, a governing committee composed of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France held sway over everything, and the officers of the permanent group headquarters were also drawn from the armed forces of these three states. Thus, NATO's high-level strategic planning and decisions were shaped according to the wishes of the major powers. This situation caused dissatisfaction and discontent among other members within NATO for a long time. In addition to this, competition between members and conflicts of interest over areas outside the European region sometimes caused NATO to...

It has been established.

Among the Western European nations that quickly recovered from the wounds of the Second World War, national consciousness re-emerged and strengthened. As a result, each nation's efforts to maximise its own interests and become a great power led to the establishment of NATO under American authority.

The United States' intention to establish a nuclear club, including the Soviet Union, with the aim of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons led to fierce disputes among NATO member countries. France, a member of the alliance against a common enemy, refused to share its nuclear weapons with the enemy and withheld information about nuclear weapons, causing serious tensions and ultimately leading to France's withdrawal from NATO's military cooperation and remaining only in the political sphere.

## TEMEL GÖRÜŞLER

This is the path to maintaining unity in meaning. As if this were not enough, during the Cuban crisis, the United States entered into negotiations with the Soviet Union without taking into account the Jupiter-type government in Turkey, and later, in order to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union on the limitation and reduction of arms, it undermined trust among NATO members. Furthermore, the United States' scattered interests and attention around the world have shaken the trust among NATO members.

. This has undermined trust among NATO members. Furthermore, the United States' scattered interests and attention around the world and its perception of Europe as merely a shield in a third world war have caused complaints among its allies: The Soviet Union's ongoing efforts and propaganda aimed at dissolving and dismantling the NATO alliance are not without effect on member countries. For example: The Soviets repeatedly call for the establishment of a "zone free of nuclear weapons" and the removal of bases and the withdrawal of forces stationed in foreign countries

to their own territories. These tactics are designed to lure in , and well-meaning people. In reality, this means the withdrawal of American and Canadian forces in Europe to the west of the Atlantic Ocean, and, in return,

the relocation of Soviet forces to the east of the Yistül River. In such a situation, it is clear that the Soviet Union would gain significantly.

Despite the difficulties and obstacles mentioned above, the 15 nations that joined **NATO** are entities that share similar views, are compatible with each other, and have interests that can be reconciled. The conditions that existed when the **NATO** alliance was established do not exist today. The behaviour and policy of the **Soviet** Bloc are significant.

and changes have occurred. The emergence of a major force such as communism in the Far East has left America and Russia facing common dangers and threats. For populous China, a rich Europe with a small population is a potential target. However, the aggressive and fanatical nature of communist doctrine is a factor that must always be taken into account, e v e n in non-communist countries.

The NATO alliance can and will continue under new conditions that take into account the capabilities and capacities of its members, ensure equality in political authority, and respect the geographical characteristics of each member state.

Such a large alliance constitutes the basis for broader international cooperation and agreement.

### Turkey's NATO policy

Turkey faced severe and serious threats between 1945 and 1946. As a result, it was compelled to seek alliances to maintain the balance of power. After lengthy negotiations, it finally succeeded in joining the NATO alliance in 1951. This alliance provided Turkey with political security. It also enabled it to obtain extensive assistance in the military field. Thanks to this, the Turkish Armed Forces, which until then had been equipped with horse-drawn carriages, ox carts, and camel caravans, found the means to modernise. Exchanging information on new research and developments, training members of the Turkish Armed Forces in modern education ,

## **TEMEL GÖRÜŞLER**

are not insignificant gains for Turkey.

From the very first day we joined NATO, those governing Turkey have shown great inadequacy in understanding the NATO alliance and benefiting from it. At that time, they thought that placing all Turkish Armed Forces under NATO command was a good way to obtain maximum assistance from America and other Western countries. Despite resistance from both the United States and other Western states, responsible Turkish statesmen strove to make the Turkish Armed Forces entirely a NATO force. They believed that the forces placed under NATO command would be equipped with modern weapons, vehicles and maintenance would also be the responsibility of NATO, and that Turkey would thus reap great benefits without incurring any costs.

According to NATO agreements, although the air defence of each member nation is its own national responsibility, Turkey has worked to make its own air defence a NATO responsibility.

Is our army dependent?

At that time, the main effort was to engage America and other Western countries against the heavy Soviet pressure we were under. Thus, the United States was encouraged to establish bases and facilities in Turkey to provide military aid and support to Turkey; in addition, extensive privileges were granted through bilateral agreements. In short, Turkey was militarily so outdated that it had to rely on foreign powers.

It was believed that, under the heavy influence of the Soviet threat, membership of the NATO alliance was a complete surrender. Despite all this, the propaganda against NATO by communist circles is false and harmful to Turkey.

The claims that the Turkish Armed Forces are not a national force, that they are under NATO command, and that they cannot be used without NATO permission are nothing but empty words. The Turkish Armed Forces are under the command of the Turkish General Staff, the force commanders, and Turkish commanders down to the smallest unit. They can always be used in the direction and manner required by Turkey's national interests. Provided that there are statesmen with the necessary determination and will to do so... Other NATO member states have occasionally used NATO forces in non-NATO areas. If Turkey deems it necessary, it can withdraw part or all of its forces from NATO command at any time.

In assessing NATO's alliance, it is essential to understand both geopolitical and modern strategic developments. • •

In a third world war, the enemy's first targets would be the opposing side's nuclear weapons sites and nuclear industry centres, as well as other military industry centres. In other words, Russia's first targets would be America's nuclear weapon sites, nuclear weapons industry centres, and other military industry centres. The second target would then be Western European regions. Today, missiles are being fired at the Moon and Venus, and satellites are orbiting the Earth. This is heating up the situation.



## BASIC VIEWS

There is no longer any need to be a member. As a member of NATO, it is not strategically appropriate for Turkey to be the first target of a Soviet attack in a third world war. Any action that would weaken the Soviets' efforts to neutralise America cannot be considered reasonable. The main strategic principle of the Soviet Union is to use all means to eliminate America as quickly as possible.

and swiftly neutralise it. Once America is neutralised,

, would it be possible for Turkey or any other state to stand up to the Soviets?

It is impossible to wage regional wars against NATO member states without entering into a world war. No one can doubt that such wars, started regionally, would quickly escalate into a third world war.

NATO has been beneficial for Turkey: If our statesmen had been more careful and vigilant, many situations that are now considered problematic would not have arisen. **NATO** should continue by reorganising itself under new conditions. Turkey should remain a NATO member under equal conditions and with more reliable guarantees. guarantee s .

We must pursue a policy with character, using our alliances effectively to best serve both the Cyprus issue and Turkish interests today.

Agreements with NATO cannot be fulfilled unless there are competent statesmen at the head of the government. The Turkish Armed Forces are always the national forces of Turkey. The other side is nothing more than stories put forward by certain individuals to hide their own ulterior motives or incompetence.

## FOREIGN POLICY

### Communists and foreign policy

Our country is currently undergoing great turmoil. The majority of the people are struggling with various problems amid poverty and hardship, and are waiting for guidance from the enlightened, especially from the administrators who hold state power in their hands. The Turkish people, the majority of whom are peasants, workers, tradesmen and civil servants, have been waiting for years for the enlightened, the government and the administrators to cooperate and take action together. Unfortunately, however, the hands of the well-intentioned and generous-hearted Turkish nation have always remained empty and continue to wave in the air today. Governments and administrators continue to ignore these hands today, and months and years are wasted in an atmosphere of ignorance, thoughtlessness, and indifference.

The most important thing in overcoming all difficulties and achieving success is maintaining unity and solidarity.

Being respectfully devoted to the people and having a passion for serving them is the greatest virtue. True democracy is only possible when individuals and parties possess such virtue. Behaviour that destroys our unity and solidarity for the sake of partisanship, attitudes that turn brother against brother, slander and lies fabricated against the honour and dignity of citizens are nothing less than treason. It is our duty to crush the heads of these traitors and corrupt politicians. And no one should doubt that we will crush them.

#### BASIC VIEWS

Today, the Turkish Nation faces external threats that seek to destroy it, as well as divisive, corrupt and treacherous movements within. The

, led by communism,

The currents of sectarianism and denominationalism are emerging. In fact, all of these are movements carried out in alliance with communism. It must be stated that there are many communist organisations established in Turkey. These

organisations are striving to bring communism to power. Regardless of their names and how much they may conceal themselves according to the law, it is evident that they are engaged in full-fledged communist activities. They are advocates and propagators of a separatist view of Turkey ( ). They are endeavouring to poison the minds of the youth with the slogan, "Autonomy must be granted to certain regions of Turkey."

The Communists are doing everything they can to undermine all national values in the country. One of the issues they attack most fiercely is our foreign policy. In particular, they constantly strive to undermine and discredit our friendship and alliance with NATO, the Western world and America. Undoubtedly, the fundamental principle in relations between nations is their own national interests. A dignified state with national consciousness must always pursue a policy that is appropriate to its own national interests. In the past, governments belonging to various parties have been passive and errant in their foreign policies, each displaying separate acts of negligence and ignorance. Foremost among these is the indifference and hostility shown towards the newly independent states of Asia and Africa.

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Moreover, the negative policy adopted towards Arab countries and Algeria is neither in line with our history nor our national dignity. However, we demand Kars, Ardahan, Artvin and the Straits and extending a helping hand to the Western states and America, which have shown friendship towards us, and joining the NATO alliance has been an appropriate policy. Turkey is a state devoted to its freedom, independence, honour and dignity. For this reason, it as fundamental. Turkey is not in a position to manufacture the tanks, missiles, jet aircraft, warships, and other weapons and equipment required by modern warfare. Nor is it in a position to purchase them with its own funds. It can only obtain them through alliances and mutual exchange of mutual benefits. Thanks to the NATO alliance and American aid, we have been able to secure these things until now. However, what we have obtained has not been sufficient or of the quality to satisfy us. Furthermore, major mistakes have been made in the management of these relations.

However, these circumstances do not indicate that the fundamental principle is flawed . They merely reveal the inadequacy of those governing Turkey. Turkey must pursue industrialisation, particularly the establishment of heavy industry, by leveraging alliances and friendships. In the meantime, it must establish a war industry capable of meeting its own needs. . That is why governments should be criticised not for joining NATO and forming an alliance with America, but for failing to show sufficient effort to establish their own industry and for not pursuing a forward-looking policy with integrity and personal conviction. . Under the current conditions,

## BASIC VIEWS

It is in Turkey's own interests to pursue a policy of close friendship and alliance with Western states and America. At the same time, maintaining friendly relations with both the Soviet Union and other countries constitutes another aspect of our policy.

### Conclusion

Bilateral agreements should be reviewed and revised in accordance with Turkey's national interests and national dignity.

Turkey must always pursue a multilateral, energetic and flexible national foreign policy that is forward-looking. The realities we live in should not be overlooked, nor should Turkey's capabilities and limitations. Just as it is necessary to pursue a friendly policy based on good neighbourly principles towards the Soviet Union, we must also pursue the same policy towards the United States.

Recently, the policy of American hostility, fuelled by communist provocations in our country, has been very dangerous and harmful for our nation. Without succumbing to feelings of superiority or inferiority, we must examine events objectively and adopt a far-sighted, planned, long-term foreign policy.

After joining NATO, governments of this type have fallen into a kind of hibernation in foreign policy, failing to take full advantage of NATO and neglecting other dev-

## **DIŞİSİYASET**

They showed great indifference, hostility, and even harmful opposition towards Muslim Middle Eastern countries and the newly awakening nations of Asia and Africa. The fact that the Turkish government at the time not only failed to assist and support the Algerian people, a brother nation, in their struggle for independence, but also took a hostile stance against them, was a deeply distressing and humiliating behaviour for the Turkish nation.

In our view, Turkey's foreign policy should be based on continuing the alliances it has formed with the Batt world should be based on sincere friendship and good neighbourly relations with our neighbours. Furthermore, close cultural, economic and political friendly relations should be established with Muslim countries to form close cooperation. Furthermore, it should establish close and strong relations with other Asian and African nations. In short, the foreign policy of a great nation with a great history, such as the Turkish Nation, should always be ahead of events, universal, multilateral, flexible, energetic, alert, and far-sighted.

## NATIONAL STRUGGLE AND FOREIGN POLICY

The Turkish National Struggle, as we know, the First World War. After being defeated in the war and signing an armistice, and subsequently reorganised its army, disregarded the armistice agreement concluded with the colonial powers. As a result of the colonial powers landing troops in Anatolia, the last stronghold of the Turks and a wholly Turkish homeland, it was a war undertaken by the entire nation, despite its exhaustion, to protect its own existence and secure its independence.

homeland, resulted in the Turks launching a war to protect their existence and regain their independence, despite their exhaustion. The state was defeated in this war. In this war, the government was overthrown. government. The Turkish nation, which had always been meticulously attached to its independence, took up arms in various places, sold its property and homes, and fought to the death to defend its homeland. , who were always meticulously loyal to their cause, took up arms in various places, selling their land and homes to finance the struggle.

This is a very important event. In the history of every nation

It is not easily seen. Because the government of the day was issuing orders such as "Do not cause any incidents, do not resist, do not respond with fire, show no mercy to the enemy" while there is no army, no force present. in Aydın, Manisa, Alaşehir,

Ayvalık, the Black Sea coast, Eastern Anatolia, everywhere, they took up arms themselves. They established bases and initiated the War of Independence themselves. Those who came later War of Independence. Later, the

The leaders, the deviez men, the administrators organised this people, brought them into order, and then waged a regular war. In our national struggle, the states defended the view that Turkey should be partitioned. Britain's policy was to establish a base in the Dardanelles and to have Greece, which was under its protection, take possession of Western Anatolia. After the British occupied Iraq, they also violated the armistice terms by moving further north and occupying Mosul, etc. The French and Italians were also after a share. However, while they were chasing this share, their interests clashed. For example, the Italians wanted Western Anatolia and Izmir, but when they saw that these had been given to the Greeks, even though they had been promised to them earlier, they became quite upset. They themselves were not capable of waging a serious struggle against the Turks.

\*and, due to the resistance they encountered, they ultimately reached an agreement with the Turks and withdrew from the places they had occupied. At that time, the revolution was still ongoing in Russia, and bloody battles were raging. A life-and-death struggle raged between the Tsarist armies and the Communist forces. The British and French supported and protected the Tsarist forces. Faced with this situation, the British supported a

Greece's s i •. x•pmasi vé Turkey's entry into such a conflict with Greece, Soviet Russia, in its own interests, will not allow Turkey to become a vassal of England, which will use it in its own interests, nor will it allow Turkey to gain its independence, since it is bound to England and will be used by England in its own interests.



CONSIDERS IT APPROPRIATE

And for this reason, it supports the Turkish national struggle. However, Russian geography is open to the open seas and the Turkish Straits.

Turkish Straits to the open seas and                      •s \*                      x •y.

In other words, whether the Russian nation lives in Russia or the R nation lives there, and whether the Turkish nation or the Y nation lives in Turkey,                      this geography pits these two nations against each other. In fact, as I mentioned earlier, the main political issue, the subject of major politics,                      here                      the conditions of the day                      is that Soviet Russia supports the Turkish national movement, and Turkey, whose very existence is in grave danger, goes there to seek support. And it receives support from there. Later, as we know, the National Struggle ends in victory and the Treaty of **Lausanne** is signed. The Treaty of Lausanne is a subject that requires lengthy examination. When the historical documents of t h a t                      day are researched, it is seen that the prime minister of the day                      the late Rauf Orbay, the chief delegate who managed the Lausanne negotiations and discussions, and the late İsmet İnönü, the Turkish Foreign Minister at the time. In this regard, ~~there were~~ heated debates in the Grand National Assembly at the time over the Treaty of Lausanne. . Undoubtedly, our scholars and historians will                      days, free from all kinds of political considerations, to uncover the truth. They will bring the pieces before us and lay them out.

Thi  
s is not far off. When the Treaty of Lausanne was signed, Turkey had  
This national pact was established by the last Ottoman National Assembly, which had made its decision before the National Struggle began and before it was distributed in Istanbul. The regions where Turks lived

It is a woman who has given her all to you and made this known to the whole world, and who has made it clear that we cannot make any sacrifices. The Treaty included Hatay, Mosul, and many other regions,

However, due to the difficult circumstances and the hardships facing the country at the time, the **Hatay** issue was tied to the condition that it would be resolved 20 years later, in accordance with the agreement made at the time, by means of a referendum in Hatay. Mosul was also left to be discussed and agreed upon between Turkey, England, and Iraq. After Lausanne, Turkey's desired policy was to focus on its internal affairs and ensure peace and tranquillity abroad. However, when Turkey began its National Struggle, it had adopted some very noble principles as its banner. One of these was the principle of "freedom for individuals, independence for nations". These After securing its own independence, Turkey always kept this principle in mind when conducting its foreign policy and, in accordance with this principle, viewed with sympathy the struggles and actions undertaken by various nations seeking to gain their independence, demonstrating this sympathy at every opportunity, and even assisting such movements

. We have seen that, over time, Turkey has fallen behind in this regard. For example, when Cessayir fought for its independence, Turkish foreign policy welcomed those fighting for independence with sympathy, voted in their favour, spoke in their favour, and • , but it did not do so, and even remained neutral.

## TEMEL GÖRÜŞLER

••• soñ sömürgeei gibi aavranarak,

"Yes, they have not yet earned the right to independence and therefore should not be granted independence." They voted against them.

Foreign policy means, of course, winning the sympathy, goodwill and friendship of every nation, every state and every society, and utilising this friendship, goodwill and sympathy to facilitate the achievement of our own national interests. If Turkey neglects this, in Africa and Asia, where new nations are emerging, gaining independence, and striving to gain independence, and has pursued a blind policy of siding with the colonialists and the states that keep them under their rule, thereby losing the sympathy, trust, and affection of these nations. As a result, we have suffered many damages, and it is impossible to predict how much more damage we will suffer. As a consequence, an **Asia-Africa** Conference held in Cairo **passed a resolution** in favour of Makarios **and** against **Turkey**. After the Treaty of Lausanne, and Hatay remained under French administration, Turkey did not make this an issue for 20 years. It seemed to have forgotten about this issue. It appeared unaware of this issue. However, when the time came and conditions seemed favourable, Hatay became ours.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

It has been claimed that this is the case, and it has been requested that it be returned to us from France. For this purpose, our leaders have made great efforts and fought hard. At that time, it was stated that "We have not seen a single inch of land outside our current borders." As soon as conditions became favourable and the time was ripe, the struggle began immediately, and Hatay was demanded from France, recognised as the most powerful state of the day. In those days, tensions between Germany and France were rising, and allied blocs were forming in Europe. France had also established close ties with Russia against Germany, and when we raised the Hatay issue, we were met with certain signals and recommendations from the Soviets to abandon this issue. However, these were not taken into consideration at all. The policy was very well defined and very well executed, and as a result, **Hatay** was incorporated into the motherland as you know.

It would be appropriate to briefly mention another event that occurred prior to this, the Mosul issue. The Mosul issue caused considerable conflict between Britain and us, leading to diplomatic disputes. However, because Britain was exhausted by the First World War, neither the British people nor the people in the dominions and colonies wanted another war. As Turkey gained the upper hand in this issue, Britain sought ways to resolve the matter in its favour. And the famous Sheikh Said rebellion broke out in Turkey.

This is one of the situations that is always encountered. One state opposes the legitimate, justified demands of another state in various ways. The most effective, most decisive of these is

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is to sow discord, division, rebellion, and chaos within that country, among its own people.

With its extensive intelligence network and financial resources, Britain has incited the ignorant, even innocent people in this region, our own citizens, our own people, by deceiving them. And it is with regret that we must say that this is why Mosul has been lost. These efforts led our government to feel the need to reach a compromise with the view that "dealing with Britain is a dangerous path," and the region, whose people are Turkish, slipped from our grasp.

The Tatz issue arose at a time when we were faced with a situation. At that time, an uprising known as the Seyib Rtza rebellion had broken out in the Tunis region. During the suppression of this uprising, the documents, letters and weapons seized from the rebels were French. With French support and organisation, this uprising was suppressed. Why? To prevent our legitimate claim to Hatay from reaching a conclusion and to ensure that it remained in their hands. These are historical events that we will remember with caution and reflect on with care. Later, Turkey faced Italian and German threats as it approached the Second World War. It faced constant threats and pressure, particularly from fascist Italy. As a result, an alliance agreement was signed between Turkey, Britain and France. When this alliance agreement was made at the beginning of the Second World War, Turkey, taking into account the problematic situation of its own geography, ensured that this alliance could not force Turkey to take action against Russia in any situation or at any time.

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He signed the agreement. Turkish diplomacy agreed to cooperate with England and France in this alliance agreement, pledging to act together with England and France against the aggression of fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. and that it would act together with Britain and France against the aggression of fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. However, it also stipulated that this agreement would not oblige it to take action against Russia under any circumstances. Why? Because at that time, the Russians had made an agreement with Nazi Germany. And there was a possibility that Britain would also take action against Russia together with France. However, Turkey took into account its own cards, its own capabilities, its own power, and the situation dictated by its geography, and included such a clause in the agreement. There is a reason I mention this. We will come to other topics shortly. I am referring to this. In other words, I am mentioning this to show that our Turkey pursued a more cautious, peaceful and well-intentioned policy towards its neighbours, without provoking them. Because, as we shall see shortly, at the end of the Second World War, Turkey will face certain difficulties with Soviet Russia's territorial demands on Turkey; **territorial** demands.

Politics means looking far ahead, not just 5-10 years, but thinking about and taking measures that will extend 50-100 or even hundreds of years into the future. After the Second World War, it was clear which side had been defeated and which had been victorious. As a result, Turkey was confronted with the Soviet Union's demand that the provinces of Kars, Ardahan and Artvin be ceded to Russia and that military bases be established in Istanbul and the Dardanelles. Naturally, Turkey, in defence of its territorial integrity and independence,

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sovereignty, would not accept any compromise, regardless of which side it came from or how powerful the state carrying it out was. This is contrary to the Turkish nation's sense of honour. After the Second World War, the Soviets

, Turkey immediately rejected these ugly, despicable demands. Naturally, this created pressure on Turkey. As is customary in politics, A state either protects itself and fulfils its own desires solely through its own power, or it seeks alliances, coalitions, and cooperation with other states that serve its interests. It finds these and confronts threats to its own existence with them. As a result, Turkey sought allies, and at that time, the NATO alliance, established in 1949, had become active in Europe, as you know. Turkey also took steps to join this alliance. After much effort, it joined the alliance. This is Turkey's natural and legitimate right. Turkey is a sovereign state. In order to protect its own existence, it forms alliances with other countries whose interests are compatible with its own, based on mutual benefit. However, there are some important points to consider in this alliance. The first of these important points is that, in order to avoid being caught in a hailstorm while seeking shelter from the rain, when entering into an alliance to protect our sovereignty and existence, we must never allow that alliance to harm our sovereignty and existence through the means of the alliance itself. Otherwise, regardless of the regime they have, states must necessarily engage in mutual exchange of interests with each other and form alliances with each other.

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They must. They must receive mutual, economic assistance from each other. To view these as events against Turkey, to think this way, to lack good intentions; this should be considered a sign of bad faith. However, in these alliances and exchanges of interests, if our statesmen have created situations that are contrary to Turkey's national existence and national interests, that violate our national rights, and have signed agreements to that effect, they are responsible. Alliances must be established and conducted with complete reciprocity, mutual respect, understanding, and friendship. These mistakes were also seen in the Ottoman Empire when it allied with Germany during the First World War.



## THE MIDDLE EAST AND TURKEY

### The role of the Ottoman Empire

The Republic of Turkey is the successor to sixteen empires and the heir to the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire was an empire where nations stretching from Crimea to Yemen, from the Caucasus to Algeria, lived in peace and harmony. In this state, the Turkish Ministry - the Islamic Caliphate - and the Roman Empire were united, and the subjects lived freely with equal rights and opportunities. None of the regions that made up the empire were colonies. Under the authority of the government, no ethnic group was considered inferior to another. In the Ottoman army, the orderly of a Konya officer could be Algerian, and the messenger of a Libyan officer could be from Baghdad.

The state, with its free, fair and tolerant nature, established peace at the point of connection between the two continents and asked. The peoples of the regions that made up the empire also endeavoured to defend every part of their state with equal vigour.

In the 1877 Russo-Turkish War, known as the War of Ninety-Nine Days, all the soldiers involved in the Palestine incident were martyred in Plevne, with none returning. During the Italian invasion of 1911, officers such as Mustafa Kemal, Enver Pasha, and Fethi Bey officers, along with Libyan tribes and the ancestor of the King of Libya, Sheikh Sunusi ( ),

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Sheikh Sunusi, defended Tripoli.

The nations gathered in the state and the Shadows did not show any effort to separate.

However, the industrial revolution in the region led to industrialised states taking an interest in this large bloc, and the industrial powers of these states combined with Russia's imperialist ambitions to cause the bloc's disintegration. A major balancing factor in establishing and maintaining world peace, and ensuring security in the Mediterranean the Ottoman power which represented the interests and expression of the nations that constituted it, was destroyed by external influences and pressures was destroyed during the First World War, and this destruction was confirmed at the Treaty of Lausanne.

The empire was divided among Britain, France and Italy, and true colonial life began. At the end of the Second World War, the nations of the region gained their independence, forming the current status.

This region constitutes a commercial, economic, military, and spiritual whole. The sea, land, and air routes between three continents pass through this region, which is the connecting point of the old world.

Essential commodities such as iron, coal, cotton, wheat, and oil are present in the region in quantities sufficient for self-sufficiency and to influence world markets.

Turkey supplies the region's industrial products with its iron, coal and other minerals; Iraq and Syria supply wheat and cotton; Iran, Kuwait, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia supply oil ( ), thereby forming an economic entity ( ).

## **BASIC PERSPECTIVES**

. Surrounded by the Black Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean, this area is subject to all strategic manoeuvres in international politics and constitutes a weight that cannot be ignored in the global balance and struggle.

All the people of this region are Muslims. For 1,300 years, they have faced the same direction, read the same book, and recited the same prayers. For 400 years, they carried the same flag. For 400 years, the Turkish flag flew over the Kaaba. The spiritual and emotional unity this has created is a force beyond any calculation. Consequently, we can say that the conditions mentioned above have made the states and nations of the Middle East indispensable to each other. A common policy established among these states will be a factor of peace, tranquillity and prosperity.

Some oddly minded individuals claim that cooperation with theocratic states is incompatible with secularism. Unless deliberate, these are meaningless speculations. For Turkey is allied with the theocratic United Kingdom.

I consider international relations to be in the interest of nations.

Capitalist America, communist Russia and imperialist Britain did not shy away from alliance during the Second World War. Sacrificing the nation for the sake of this or that principle is incompatible with statesmanship.

The government's foreign policy is believed to be guided by enthusiastic visits. Egypt, which harasses and threatens Middle Eastern countries; Yugoslavia, which has formed an alliance with Greece , and the Greek Cypriot administration; and cooperation with Greece.

initiatives cannot even manage to produce platonic declarations.

Turkish governments should know that diplomatic trial visits to establish foreign relations. The opinions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' technicians, who are by no means lacking in experienced diplomats, should be heeded, and the lack of experience of politicians should be compensated for by their knowledge. Turkey should implement a strong, stable, and well-intentioned southern policy. This is in our national interest.

The Middle East, with its geopolitical situation and economic wealth, representing its civilisation and ethnic structure, is the key to regional stability and peace. In its current state, the Middle East, together with the African continent, is Western Europe's vegetable and fruit garden, its granary, its source of minerals and raw materials, the source of cheap labour that European industry needs, and the market for the goods produced by that industry.

It is in a favourable market position. Peace and stability in the Middle East is a prerequisite for world peace. This region has been of interest to the Western world since ancient times. Before the Second World War, it was largely under British and French control. After the Second World War, these states, which were members of the NATO alliance, came under the control of the United States. However, due to the changing naval strategy of the Soviets and the reaction among Arabs caused by the Israeli-Arab conflict, the influence and control of Soviet Russia began in Egypt, Syria and Iraq. began to grow in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq.

In the Middle East conflict, Turkey, due to its geographical structure, has a strategic view of all the roads leading to and from the region.

It was in a dominant position. The Ottoman Empire, established and operating as a unified Central European, Balkan, Middle Eastern and North African state, had brought peace, tranquillity and significant development to the region. It had harmoniously governed diverse and conflicting nations and peoples, allowing them to live without oppression and achieving prosperity. In the face of the Soviet attack and threats that emerged at the end of the Second World War, the United States and the Western world chose to take advantage of Turkey's protective cover and defensive power. By bringing Turkey and Greece into the NATO alliance, they sought to secure their interests in the Middle East with the help of these two states. At this time, with the help of the British and Americans, the State of Israel was established in Palestine.

### The State of Israel and the Middle East

The establishment of the State of Israel was met with fierce opposition from the Arabs. The bringing of Jewish immigrants from all corners of the world to Palestine ( ), which had been an Arab homeland for two thousand years, and their settlement there, the establishment of a new state, the displacement of the Arabs living there and their flight to other countries, the Middle East...

It stirred up the East and caused great upheavals. Faced with this situation, the Arabs took up arms to eliminate the new State of Israel. However, their lack of a coordinated command structure, their lack of proper training and their lack of modern weaponry meant they were unable to succeed.

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. Nevertheless, in these wars, the Arabs always expected help from Turkey. They even wanted Turkey to intervene with its military forces. The Turkish nation, which is deeply connected to the Arabs through religion, culture, history and geography, and which loves the Arab people with a sincere affection, was very hurt by the Arabs' failure to honour their religious brotherhood during the First World War and their collaboration with non-Muslim foreigners against the Turks. This incident was a great disappointment for the Turkish nation.

Within its borders, it maintained an independent and peaceful stance, and the reasons for this also constituted a policy of staying away from external events. The dispute between the Arabs and Israel has been going on for nearly 30 years. Today, "the State of Israel has taken its place as a reality in the Middle East

It is supported and protected by the entire Jewish world. The Arabs have not yet developed in science, technology, and social fields. Sufficient unity and coordination have not been established among the Arabs. In this situation, it is not right for them to engage in bloody wars and continue them under the influence of the great powers. There is a need to educate and train people, advance in science and technology, industrialise, and achieve economic development

require time and a planned approach to conflict. Finding a solution for a peace agreement with Israel that protects the honour and interests of both sides

would be highly beneficial both for the Arabs and for the peace and stability of the Middle East and the world.

## TEMEL GÖRÜŞLER

### Turkey's strength and duty

Turkey's position in the Middle East is of paramount importance and superior to that of any other country. Its coastlines on both the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, its possession of the straits between the two seas, its position as a Caucasian state to the east and a Balkan and European state to the west, and the fact that the sources and reservoirs of the rivers that give life to the surrounding countries are located in Turkey make Turkey influential in every respect. The diversity of climates within its territory, its vastness and depth, which give it the character of a small continent, and its coastline, which is impassable and covered with high and rugged mountains, also make it very strong militarily. Taking into account the qualities and characteristics of the Turkish people who make up the country's population, Turkey's political and military weight and influence can be further appreciated. With the exception of neighbouring Russia and Iran, the territories of Turkey's other neighbours cannot be considered militarily significant unless they are considered together with Turkey. For example, if we take the territory of Greece, part of this territory consists of narrow and steep islands in the middle of the sea, while the non-island parts consist of narrow and inhospitable peninsulas and long, narrow coastal strips. Establishing bases on these territories and utilising them during wartime is impossible without cooperation with Turkey. Concealing, hiding, and protecting military bases on Greek territory is extremely difficult. This is true both for the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.

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In order to carry out a successful operation towards the Persian Gulf and the Suez Canal, it is essential to keep Turkey under control and cooperate with it in order to be able to move from the Caucasus and Russia or from the Balkans. Neither Greek nor Syrian territory can provide these extensive opportunities on their own. The same applies to the territories of all other neighbouring countries.

Considering Turkey's situation and importance in light of the brief points outlined above, it becomes easier to understand the various events we have encountered in recent years. The great powers engaged in such a struggle

(U.S., the Soviet Union, Western Europe) wish to keep Turkey under their control. To this end, they resort to secret, extremely strict measures. The Soviets have organised extensive activities to remove Turkey, a NATO member and ally of the West, from this position and bring it into the Soviet bloc. The goal of the communist anarchy that has emerged in our country is to turn Turkey into an Iron Curtain country that will withdraw from NATO. The intense propaganda, street movements, and armed activities that have been launched are all attempts aimed at this goal.

The necessary actions for Turkey Turkey has a very energetic

and proactive policy.

It must be prepared to take swift action by monitoring the situation and making rapid decisions. Our world is undergoing rapid changes and developments.



## BASIC VIEW

. The recent rapid rapprochement between the United States, Western European countries and the Soviet Union will also have an impact on other political relations. The nature, direction and extent of the commercial and economic relations that are developing daily between the Soviet Union and the aforementioned Western countries clearly indicate the political objectives and intentions of these states.

the nature, direction and extent of the warming commercial and economic relations clearly indicate the political goals and intentions of these states. In the new negotiations and exchanges of interests that are being undertaken,

it is imperative to prepare new plans and engage in multilateral efforts to prevent games being played at Turkey's expense.

Turkey must closely monitor foreign propaganda centres and establish close ties with them. Efforts should be made to ensure that these centres engage in activities that are not harmful to Turkey. Furthermore, active diplomatic efforts should be undertaken.

. It should establish friendly relations with both allied and neighbouring countries

and with states

outside the pacts, friendly relations, cooperation and propaganda activities should be carried out with both allies and neighbouring countries, as well as with states outside the pacts. Information should be gathered on internal organisations that exert influence and pressure on the governments of all nations, particularly the United States, and steps should be taken to eliminate them.

To be successful in foreign policy, Turkey must have complete unity and solidarity within its borders and possess strong, modern armed forces. To this end, it is essential to establish and operate institutions in harmony with the nation. Turkey is the most influential force in the order and peace of the Middle East. It has fulfilled its role and duties to date, despite the missteps of various governments.

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It has not been able to do so due to its evaluations and inactivity. In order for it to be able to do so, it is necessary to initiate planning and preparation. In particular, the Turkish Armed Forces must be equipped with the latest weapons and equipment in every respect and be trained to be ready for duty at any moment.

It is very important to maintain air power. It should be noted that air power is of vital importance in the defence of nations. Recently, the foundations established to strengthen both our Air Force and our Navy have been very beneficial and appropriate moves. However, it is not possible to meet the needs of our national defence and, in particular, to establish a war industry solely through "Strengthening Foundations". Unless the governments succeed in industrialising Turkey extensively and rapidly in the civilian sphere, our national defence capabilities will continue to face significant difficulties. Unless heavy industry, the motor industry, and other industrial sectors that are inseparable parts of these are established in our country, our war industry will remain unfounded, unsupported, and deprived of the opportunity for development. Therefore, to grasp the issue in broad strokes, it is necessary to consider this, first and foremost, as a government and state duty encompassing the entire life of the nation. Turkey has the potential to accomplish these tasks in a short time.

We believe that, thanks to the high capabilities and virtues, as well as its common sense, will ensure that Turkey's unity and solidarity remain firmly intact despite all provocations. Turkey will continue to rise and develop. Turkey's strengthening and advancement will be beneficial both for the Middle East and for global peace and harmony.

What should we do about the Turks outside today's Turkish borders? Until now, those who have governed our nation have always considered it harmful to concern ourselves with the Turks abroad. This is a mistaken view. Wherever there are Turks in the world, it is the duty of Turkish nationalists to care for them. We consider it the duty of Turkish nationalists to do whatever they can for Turks abroad.

However, we have certain conditions. conditions. The main condition is that Turkey must not be endangered. Because the liberation of all Turks abroad depends on the existence of Turkey.

Wanting to save the Turks abroad is not imperialism, as the press claims. Imperialism is the occupation of foreign states. Wanting the salvation and freedom of the Turks abroad is our legitimate right. And this right is protected by the United Nations Organisation.

In our era, cultural dissemination and friendship initiatives are widely practised in international relations. Every state strives to spread its culture as widely as possible. This makes it easier to secure significant economic, strategic, and political benefits. We too have the opportunity

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We must focus on this issue to the extent that we can. The first area of this is to support and strengthen communities linked to Turkish culture and to maintain close relations with them. In return, we must be cautious and methodical in our approach to the spread of foreign cultures in our country.

In this context, we would like to emphasise the importance of equipping TRT with stronger and newer facilities. As things stand today, TRT broadcasts are listened to with great interest in some regions of our country, and our broadcasts are being replaced by foreign broadcasts with malicious intent. Our broadcast programmes also need to be organised more comprehensively. Special and continuous broadcasts should be given importance for communities outside our borders that are connected to Turkish culture.

Indifference towards Turks abroad continues. The Turkish

nation, since the earliest ages of history, Indeed, it is a nation that has never accepted a life of captivity since its birth, has never bowed to an enemy, and has lived with honour and dignity.

At the end of the First World War, a large part of my fellow countrymen were exiled to what are now Bulgaria, Greece and Russia, which were formerly our lands, under various treaties. Since the first peace agreements, the torture and mistreatment of these Turkish-Muslim brothers and sisters, who are not prisoners and cannot be considered prisoners, has increased with each passing day. In particular, the inhumane persecution of the Turks of the Rhodopes continues to increase. More

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Fifty to sixty years ago, our population in Western Thrace was 85 *per cent*, but today this figure has fallen well below 15 per cent. Under Greek administration, a policy of erasing our citizens' identity is being pursued. To this end, they are subjected to days of being kept in water, sexual assault, cutting off their tongues and noses, and many other unimaginable tortures. Those who do not change their names are not given diplomas , and Turkish children cannot receive even a shred of the necessary education. They are asking us for help, support and trust. The situation has been communicated to the relevant authorities many times. It is necessary for our governments to make clear what they think about this issue and for the Greek government to comply with the "stop" order or at least refrain from retaliating in any way.

It is an extremely surprising and equally distressing situation. However, under the Treaty of Lausanne, the Greeks will not seek to settle the Greek population in these areas. ; the population ratio would not change, no pressure would be exerted on the Turks, there would be no interference in their way of life, Turkish would be spoken freely, and Turkish children would be able to open, and Turkish would not be hindered.

In this situation, all the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne have been violated. There is a need for nationalist governments to address the issue.

## THE CYPRUS ISSUE

### Its origin, development, and status

The island of Cyprus came under Turkish rule in 1571 and remained Turkish until 1914, and legally until the date the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne came into force. We have the statistics from the census conducted by the British in Cyprus in 1879.

According to this absurd data, the Turkish population was in the majority in Cyprus at that time. The Greek population was in the minority. Cyprus, 1877-1878 Os-

mann - It is an island that was placed under occupation following the Russo-Turkish War, with permission granted to the British to "temporarily occupy" it. The reason for our permission to occupy it was to enable the British to come to the aid of the Ottomans from a nearby base, at close range, should the Turks attack Ottoman territory in the direction of Alexandretta.

»s» this island was temporarily given to England,

After the British entered, a new British governor was appointed to the island every two or three years. When he arrived, the Greek spiritual leader of the island, or the metropolitan archbishop, would go to meet him and present him with a petition, a request. From 1878 onwards, in this petition, the priest began to request that Cyprus be given to Greece, stating that Cyprus was Greek. The Greek government and the Greek state continued in this direction.

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

and maintained contact with the Greeks on the island, sending teachers and all kinds of assistance from Greece. Cultural relations and cultural unity were ensured, and affairs were conducted accordingly.

While the Ottoman Empire was reeling from various troubles, it naturally found no opportunity to deal with these matters. However, even after the Treaty of Lausanne, we were completely preoccupied with our own affairs and were unable to actively engage with the Turks there or with the situation on the island. Under the Treaty of Lausanne, the Turks on the island were granted a three-year grace period. According to this permission, those who wished to go to Turkey and live as Turkish citizens were informed that they had to sell their property and leave, while those who did not wish to go would become British subjects. In accordance with the Treaty of Lausanne, Greek immigrants expelled from Turkey were sent to Cyprus. And were brought to Cyprus and settled there. These people came from Anatolia to Cyprus and, by oppressing the local Greeks, engaged in various acts of hostility, oppression, and aggression against the Turks at every opportunity. The Turks of , who were already sensitive and did not like foreign domination,

They have practically entered into competition with each other over the use of this base, which has been granted to them.

The y were practically competing with each other. In the face of the influx of Greek refugees, the desire to live on the island was fading. and when Greek refugees arrived on the island, Turkish refugees left the island and went to Turkey. Today, it is estimated that there are 250-300 thousand people from Jtibr1s in our coastal region from Mersin to Izmir, including Mersin itself. After this, the Greeks and the Greeks continued their activities. Finally, from the Second World War

•<sub>1</sub> and the Greeks have laid claim to the Twelve Islands. During the war, we were offered occupation, but we did not agree to it. "We will not give up a single inch of land, nor will we take a single

inch of land." "Please don't go, take this and occupy it." "No, sir, whatever happens." The Greeks claimed these islands. The Twelve Islands were given to Greece under the 1947 Paris Agreement, and not a single word was uttered by the Turkish government. "Gentlemen, whose property are you giving away? These belong to us. Now you won't listen to us, I do not accept this treaty, I do not recognise it, I reserve my right to speak," it was not said. The Twelve Islands went this way, and from then on, all Greek activities turned towards Cyprus. Now, it is necessary to briefly review the situation of all the islands along with Cyprus.

### Greek activities and Cyprus

From the moment Greece gained independence and was born as a microscopic state, it has been preoccupied with dreams and ambitions far greater than itself. Very great... But has this been harmful to *itself*? Has this course of action been **a mistake**?

I would like to say that every truth first arises and lives in the hearts and minds as a mere fantasy.

When Osman Gazi became the leader of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul, Rumelia, Syria, and Iraq were just dreams in his mind.

The moment this microscopic state came into being, it...



#### FOUNDATION. PERSPECTIVE ZB

The Byzantine Empire was the heir to the Byzantine Empire and sought to revive it. The source of these activities, the place where they were nurtured and administered, was the Greek Church. In Greece, the Greek Church cannot be separated from Greek politics. The Greek Church prepared all the revolutions and rebellions, directed and managed them. In fact, when the Morea rebellion began, the first to rise up for independence, during the reign of Sultan Mahmud, were managed by a society called Etrāk-i Eteryā. The patriarch in Istanbul loved and managed this society. He was preparing such an assassination that Greek forces in Turkish military uniforms were being prepared. On the one hand, there would be the destruction of the Morea, and on the other, they would revolt in Istanbul. And they would occupy Istanbul. Byzantium would be revived. Naturally, news of this situation is spreading. These are being suppressed, and the patriarch, the armies we call the middle gate, are hanging in the air today, not opening. It is only natural that they are being hanged. Show me a state where a citizen, a subject of that state, betrays his own state, rebels against it, and in response, that state says to him, "Well done, you did well." Is there such a state on earth? Why, then, do they blame the Ottoman State? Anyone in its place would have acted accordingly.

From then on, this state has always pursued this idea, this dream. And it must be said with regret that they have largely realised the part of this dream on the Rumelia side and completely realised the part concerning the islands in the Aegean Sea. Our negligence, the incompetence of our state officials, and incompetence, they have taken advantage of these, and over time time-

## FOREIGN POLICY

They achieved this step by step, even attempting to take possession of part of Anatolia during our War of Independence, thereby establishing it firmly. Now, when we look at the map, at the mouth of the Dardanelles, the island of **Lesbos**, the other islands under Greek occupation, further down opposite Ayvalık, Burhaniye's Lörşisi, further down Poça, İzmir, opposite İzmir, Kuşadası, further down Bodrum, Güllük, etc... like this. The entire Turkish coastline is blocked by islands captured by the Greeks. What does Turkey have? It has the Aegean coastline, it has the Mediterranean basin, which is relatively free. Cyprus? Cyprus is in British hands, in the hands of another state. Now, they have been targeting this area for a long time. And they say:

"We will take this place and Greece will become a state spanning three continents. At the same time, we will be both a Balkan country and a Middle Eastern country," they say. With what? With Cyprus. Many people are not yet fully aware of Cyprus's importance. In our country, I attribute it solely to the situation of the 125,000 Turks living there. No, the presence of Turks there is also a matter for Turkey; the Cyprus issue is a necessity. bu coğratl bir mecburiyettir.

Turkey's own existence and security make this imperative. Moreover, the presence of 125,000 Turks there makes this situation even more important. Now, as in other matters, Greece has acted very skilfully, methodically and with foresight in this issue. The Greek propaganda network, spread across every corner of the world, has worked hand in hand with Greek diplomatic activities. While they were doing this, we did not do a single thing. They were the first...

They have launched a struggle against the British. Their struggle against the British is like a staged fight. Because the British have always been there to support them, protect them, and encourage them.

### From Crete to Cyprus

If we look at a historical event up to the present day, it is possible to better understand and comprehend the Cyprus issue. This event is the Crete incident. A hundred years ago, Crete was a Turkish island. And there were at least as many Turks on the island as there were Greeks. But, like a bug gnawing at a leaf, they began to gnaw away, and they also set their sights on Crete. In Crete, as in Cyprus, they began their activities. There too, they first started activities, and when we sent forces there to protect order, security, and the law in order to suppress the gangs, they raised a hue and cry, saying, "Oh no! The Turks are oppressing us, the Turks are massacring the Greeks, they are slaughtering them, come quickly!" Immediately, the so-called great powers of the time, England,

- They came from France, together with Russia, landed troops on the island, occupied it and did the job - it's very similar in between, I'm saying this—they turned it around, they turned it around, they said: "Let there be autonomy here..." "So it's still yours, but let all the people be independent in their own community affairs, their own communal affairs. And let there be a Greek governor on the island, your governor, who will report to you..." Your governor is Greek. Who will it be? Someone from the Greek royal family, a prince... Thus, the island of Crete became an island governed by autonomy. That is, Ktbrishn

Like becoming a republic without a king. These are steps. Steps towards Greece. Now we can better assess the Turkish Empire's men throughout the middle. What happened happened, Crete became autonomous. A prince from the Greek royal family was also the Ottoman governor. Who does he serve? The Ottomans, doesn't he? He serves the Ottomans?! ... And Crete left one day. We were victorious; we ended it with victory, with triumph. That was also at the end of the 1887 Turkish-Greek War. As you know, the 1897 Turkish-Greek War broke out again due to the Greeks' recklessness and impropriety. They and the Austrians thought that the Greeks would succeed and defeat the Ottoman army, gaining territory. But they suffered a crushing defeat, and the Turkish army was on the verge of entering Athens. The great powers immediately intervened again: "We will preserve the peace, let peace not be lost, etc.," they said, stopping us. They came between us and the Greeks. After that, the island of Crete, which had been ours until then, became part of Greece.

Let us take the example of Cyprus Island. Since 1950: The then Minister of Foreign Affairs was our esteemed scholar Prof. Fuat Köprülü. He was asked: "What do you think about the Cyprus issue?" He replied: "There is no Cyprus issue for Turkey." Some of us remember this. Time passed. Perhaps the British encouraged and advised. But the one who really made a difference here was the late Sedat Simavî Bey. He single-handedly raised this issue in his newspaper (Hürriyet) bayrak . "Cyprus is a very important issue for Turkey. Cyprus

belongs to Turkey, it is Turkey's. What does the Deputy Minister say about this?» he says and launches a campaign against Fuat Kıprılı. The Minister of the Interior, Gedat Simavi Bey, takes him to court on charges of insulting him, etc., and the government also takes up the matter. The government says, "Cyprus is entirely ours, it belongs to us." Now more iinee Foreign Affairs Minister "Bisim

We have no problem with %yle . "This is a matter belonging to England . " Shortly afterwards, the Prime Minister says, "Cyprus belongs entirely to us." Not long after that, they say, "Either partition or independence." Later, they say, "Independent Cyprus." What does the other side say? They chant, "Enosis, enosis!" They chant nothing else. Very well, Cyprus will be independent, and then 27 May happens. According to the agreement, 38% of local government positions will belong to Turks, 62% to Greeks. The Greeks object to this; "The Turks," they say, "have a ratio of 18 on the island. How can that be? 38 positions will be too many for them?" A number of problems... The Turks, the Turkish community, resist. They drag their feet, constantly. Our regiment is waiting in Iskenderun. No agreement can be reached, and soldiers are not entering Cyprus, . That is the situation. Contact is immediately made with the community leaders and it is said, "The main issue is the entry of Turkish soldiers onto the island. Ensure this. We will resolve the other issues later." The other side is deliberately dragging its feet. H e is not satisfied with this agreement. He does not want Turkish soldiers to land on the island. Turkish soldiers w i l l l a n d on the island. What will happen is clear. For this reason, certain preparations are also being made. What are these preparations? Now weakning what have the Greeks done?

## FOREIGN SECURITY

Well, we are going down the same path. Time passes, governments change. Various governments come and go... Here, we analyse and examine our problems. Individuals are not important to us. Because whoever they may be, they are citizens of this country. We are all responsible for each other and we are people who have a duty to protect each other's existence and welfare. We are the people of this country. Therefore, we say that we should not dwell on the main illness, the main shortcomings, and flaws, so that our future activities may be more accurate. Various governments come and go. The Greeks are bringing weapons to the island. They are making preparations, and at the same time, Turkey's internal situation, world politics, are being watched very closely.

They are monitoring the situation and continuously conducting their propaganda, engaging in diplomatic activities. What is Turkey doing? Nothing!

Is it really that difficult to foresee or predict that events in Cyprus would unfold in this manner? For those who know history and have experience in these matters, is it impossible to foresee these things if they think a little deeply and broadly? So why have Turkish governments remained silent? Why have they not launched a planned propaganda campaign to counter Greek propaganda? Why have they not engaged in diplomatic activities to counter Greek diplomatic activities, activities that would render those diplomatic activities futile?

Finally, the events of 21 December 1963 erupted. Turks were massacred in many places. The families of Turkish officers stationed there were raped. They were massacred. The images of our major doctor's wife and children are still in our eyes.

#### BASIC VIEWS

It is before you. These events are unfolding. Article 4 of the Zurich and London Agreements grants the guarantor states, namely Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom, the right to intervene in Cyprus. It grants them the authority to intervene in order to maintain law and order there and to prevent the disruption of the order established by the agreement. Turkey is not intervening. Why? They say preparations were needed for intervention. Why weren't preparations made? Did it never occur to anyone that one day something might happen on this island and if intervention were necessary, would I be able to do it or not? If I wanted to, where would I find the forces, how would I deploy them there, and how could I intervene? Shouldn't one think about this and make a plan? We couldn't intervene, I didn't intervene. Could it be done, or couldn't it? If it were me (this happens, this doesn't happen), if I had a battalion, a regiment at my disposal anywhere in Turkey, I would send it straight to the island... While doing this, I would simultaneously send a message to Greece and England: "My dear friends, law and order has broken down in Cyprus, and the two communities have begun attacking each other. In accordance with the agreement, I have sent police forces there to ensure law and order. However, I believe that my forces are not sufficient to stop this fighting. I earnestly request and implore you to send police forces urgently to reinforce me." Because they, too, are guarantor states responsible for maintaining the situation created by the agreement on the island and restoring order. But by doing this before them, I could have gained the opportunity to do what I wanted there until they arrived. What if things turn out differently? Sir, if America, England, and Russia say, "Get out of there," I would say, "Gentlemen, I came here with good intentions. Since s \* di-

you are doing, I am doing. But, until you come out!...

Seeing ahead, thinking ahead, being prepared

. Otherwise, living day by day like a caterpillar, like an insect, cannot guarantee a secure life. Seeing **the future**, always investigating what might happen. We have agents in Greece, in Cyprus, we have intelligence; in Germany, in France, in America,

.they are everywhere... There are various tactics in politics. There are many rules in politics. One of the rules used in the past is bluffing. However, this is especially true on the right, where states without great power engage in political bluffing.

It is not right to go there. No success will be achieved. It will be harmful. Turkey has experienced this twice in its recent history and suffered great damage both t i m e s . One of these was in 1957-1958, when the government of the day took action against Syria. The other was in the Cyprus issue. Soldiers gathered in Iskenderun, the navy came to Mersin, came to Iskenderun. There are exercises at Domuz Burnu. We left, we are leaving. Some friends are coming. They are swearing excitedly. "By God, tonight, tomorrow..."

We got up early in the morning, we're there. No. And the situation has become a laughing stock in our countries all over the world.

. If such a thing is to be done, it is kept as secret as possible. The world only finds out after it has happened. Otherwise, before it happens, they announce it with drums and pipes, saying, "I have gathered soldiers here, I am gathering them. I am ready. s \*aeağım, open road, .defend yourselves, I'm coming!" This is a well-planned operation, organised and carried out in a decisive manner. After departure, the world will be informed.



## BASIC VIEWS

After that, we listened to our statesmen: "I was going to do this, but so-and-so got in my way and wouldn't let me." So what are we waiting for? So-and-so will open the doors, pat us on the back and say, "Come on, let's see you do it!" Would he say that? If Turkey is a member state of NATO, then Greece is also a member state. Other states think about their own interests and pursue policies to secure those interests, while they want to keep both Greece and Turkey in check. They look for ways to do this. Just as Greece sent 10,000 people, an army force, from 600 miles away, just as it armed and organised the local Greeks there, and created a fait accompli in its favour, just as it did by calculating the situations of America, Russia, Egypt, and other states and creating conditions favourable to itself, the duty of Turkish diplomacy and Turkish statesmen is to make such preparations to secure Turkey's interests and creating conditions favourable to itself, then the duty of Turkish diplomacy and Turkish statesmen is to make such preparations, create such situations, and secure Turkish interests in order to protect Turkey's interests. This is not being done, and then "so-and-so is getting in my way! ..." Yes,

Of course, we must also write about the gesture and its implications. But, the statesman must foresee this, must calculate it in advance, must know it. After this comes the coalition, the fourth coalition governments. The policies they all follow are similar. The "wait and see" policy gains ground every day.

The Cyprus issue is not a simple matter. Turkey is facing very important circumstances. These important circumstances, as I mentioned when explaining certain events at the beginning, may have an impact on the issue. For this reason, Turkey's

## FOREIGN POLICY

It is imperative that the Turkish people remain vigilant. We are ourselves honest. We are well-intentioned. However, this good faith is not sufficient to ensure our own security. Above all, we must be vigilant, respond to these attacks against us, these insidious activities, and be prepared to resist.

The Cyprus issue is of great importance. I am concerned that this issue will become a subject of serious conflict, as it is closely related to Turkey's prestige and security. In addition, as I mentioned earlier, it also concerns the existence, rights and lives of the 125,000 Turks living there. Is the Cyprus issue a Turkey-Cyprus issue, or a Turkey-Greece issue? These two ideas have been debated from time to time in Turkey. Some statesmen have argued that it is a Turkey- Greece issue and that presenting it as such is in Turkey's interests. This is a matter of political tactics. However, especially at the outset, I thought it would be beneficial to treat the issue as a Cyprus issue, ostensibly a Cyprus issue, and to act accordingly, believing that this would reduce the conflict. Today, of course, the issue has become completely widespread. What is the appropriate solution to the Cyprus issue? I do not consider it appropriate to explain my thoughts on this matter to those around me. However, it is useful to outline the main points. In order to reach a favourable solution to the Cyprus issue, without departing from Turkey's position of peace, it is absolutely necessary to take practical steps in C y p r u s , following the methods and approaches used by Greece.

## BASIC VIEWS

It was necessary to create a Greek Cypriot entity. And finally, in 1974, a de facto situation was created.

We have previously stated that Cyprus is a land parcel of great importance to Turkey. To summarise briefly: Geologically, it is a land parcel separated from Anatolia. From the Gulf of Iskenderun

It is a section of the Taurus Mountains that extends towards the Mediterranean Sea and rises above sea level. In terms of geography, it is also an island that completely controls and influences Turkey's Iskenderun Bay, Ösel Bay and Antalya Bay. The island also controls the Syrian coast, the Egyptian coast, the Suez Canal; in short, it has a geopolitical position that controls the Eastern Mediterranean. However, military aircraft based in Cyprus could bomb Ankara or Erzurum and return to their base. However, military aircraft based in Cyprus would be able to bomb Ankara, Erzurum, or any other location in Turkey and return. In addition to this military importance, it is also useful to say a few words about the economic situation of the island of Cyprus. The island of Cyprus is a piece of land within the integrity of Anatolia. In other words, Cyprus

Unless it is nourished by Anatolia, unless it is reinforced by Anatolia and added to Anatolia, it cannot be economically self-sufficient and capable of survival. As long as it remains separate from Anatolia, it has an impact that creates a deficiency in Turkey's economic life. In all these respects, the island of Cyprus is a matter of existence or extinction for Turkey. In terms of Turkey's military defence, Turkey's economic

## DII POLITICS.

From this perspective, it is of vital importance for Turkey. In addition to this situation, the presence of one hundred and twenty-five thousand Turks in the island also makes Cyprus a particularly important piece of land for Turkey. Furthermore, the Turkish nation has historical roots in Cyprus. Cyprus has never been under Greek rule or become part of Greece at any point in history.

It lived under the rule of the Ottoman Empire for 400 years. However, with the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey was forced to relinquish its sovereignty over Cyprus. From this perspective, the Turkish nation has rights over Cyprus.

. Taking all these factors into consideration,

It is becoming clear that Cyprus is of great importance to Turkey.

It was forcibly seized from Turkey, taken from the Turkish nation at a difficult time, during a turbulent period, under pressure, under the guise of "temporary occupation," and then prevented from being returned to its rightful owner, the Turkish nation. Thus, by bringing this to light and revealing the change of hands in Cyprus, it would be quite reasonable and fair for Turkey to demand that it be returned to its rightful owner. Unfortunately, the Turkish governments of the time never took this path. They contented themselves with stating that Turkey had no Cyprus issue, that Cyprus was an internal matter belonging to the British, or that we did not have the power to intervene in Cyprus. This continued until July 1974. On the other hand, the Greeks have consistently asserted throughout the world that Cyprus belongs to Greece and that the British are unjustly subjugating Cyprus.

## BASIC VIEWS

They claimed that Cyprus should be given to Greece, that if Britain needed Cyprus for military reasons, Greece was always ready to give Britain bases that would meet its military needs, but that the administration of Cyprus should be given to Greece., and thus endeavoured for years to influence world public opinion that Cyprus was Greek and should be given to Greece. These propaganda efforts were not in vain. From time to time, there were uprisings in Cyprus and guerrilla warfare against British rule •s> . These wars were encouraged by Greece and secretly supported by the Greeks. It was carried out under the command of Greek officers sent by the local Greeks, who were armed with weapons brought onto the island.

Greece, despite being an ally and partner of England, did not hesitate to use weapons to achieve its national rights and goals. In response, Turkey remained silent and passive. This continued until Britain, thinking, "If I bring Turkey into the picture, I can create a balance against Greek pressure and Greek demands in the face of Turkey's claim to rights over the island, and thus maintain my sovereignty over the island," encouraged the Turkish government to put forward demands.

### Our Foreign Ministry and the Cyprus issue

It is so strange that in 1949, when the **CHP** government was in power, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr.

When Neomettin Sadak was travelling to Istanbul, journalists asked him questions in Haydarpasa. They said: "The Greeks want Cyprus. Turkey also has rights over Cyprus. What are your thoughts on this?" Sadak responded to this question by stating, "Turkey has no issue with Cyprus. This matter belongs entirely to England." Shortly thereafter, there was a change in government. The DP won the 1950 elections and came to power. When the same questions were asked of the then Foreign Minister of the DP, the late Fuat Köprülü, he also stated, "Turkey has no Cyprus issue."

He claimed that it was not his concern, that it was a matter for England. The republican governments of that time displayed such cowardly and senseless behaviour and attitudes, such timidity, on our own soil, which at that time lay outside the present-day borders. However, emboldened by the subsequent stance taken by the British, the Turkish government asserted that Cyprus should not be given to Greece, but rather that Cyprus should be given to Turkey. Following this, rallies were organised in favour of giving Cyprus to Turkey. The youth held numerous meetings on this issue. After this struggle continued for a while, the Turkish government's stance became uncertain again. This time, the demand for Cyprus to be annexed to Turkey was abandoned, and instead, a view was put forward that proposed the partition of Cyprus between Turks and Greeks with the slogan "Either partition or death".

In response, Greece has maintained its position from the outset. That position is Enosis. That is, the complete union of Cyprus with Greece.

#### PINK PERSPECTIVE

It is clear that it belongs to Greece and must be united with Tunanistari. There have been massacres on the island. Turkey has also exerted its influence. Ultimately, the London and Zurich agreements were signed in 1960.

According to these agreements, steps were taken to establish an independent state on the island. There is no separate nation in Cyprus. Those living on the island consist of two separate nations living there. On one side are the Greeks. They consider themselves Greek and speak Greek. They wish to join Greece. On the other side is the Turkish community, which is part of the Turkish nation. They also speak Turkish, consider themselves part of the Turkish nation, do not want to come under Greek rule, and wish to unite with Turkey and become part of Turkey.

#### Turkey's historical rights over Cyprus ( )

Turkey has historical rights over this island. Cyprus is vital to Turkey's security and economic integrity. There are many people of Turkish descent living on the island, and over 40 per cent of the land is owned by Turks. When considering the issue of population majority, we must not think of the population majority as the population living on the island of Cyprus. We must consider the population living within the geography of Anatolia, of which Cyprus is a part. The vast majority of the population living within the geography of Anatolia is Turkish. The Greeks are a minority within this overwhelming majority.

## DIŞ SİYASET .

In most cases, they are a large minority. Therefore, it would be wrong to think of the island of Cyprus as if it were a separate country from the Anatolian geography and to conclude that the Greeks constitute the majority of the population living there and that the Turks are a minority. The island is part of the Anatolian geography. Therefore, if the issue of self-determination is to be considered, the Turks should again have the right to speak.

Therefore, the most equitable solution would be to grant the entire island to Turkey and to guarantee the existence of the Greeks by granting them minority rights. The Turks have provided the broadest human rights to the nations they have allowed to live under their rule. They have provided them with everything. Today, the existence of Greece and other Balkan states are living examples that prove the high qualities of the Turks.

Under current conditions, Turkey's proposed thesis should be a view that guarantees the presence of Turks in Cyprus, anchors this guarantee to sound principles, and seeks to establish a just balance that will bring peace to the Eastern Mediterranean region. Taking into account the international situation, this view can be realised as follows: Maintaining a sufficient number of Turkish forces in Cyprus and, with a new constitution, granting Turks full freedom in their own affairs and equal authority in the administration of the Cypriot state. ensuring that they can freely communicate and maintain contact with Turkey, providing opportunities for joint management and use of sea and air ports, disarming the armed Greek population, and the involvement of a United Nations delegation.



## **BASIC PRINCIPLES**

### **The Cyprus issue after the Greek coup in July 1974**

On 15 July 1974, when the coup d'état led by the murderous EOKA leader Nikos Sampson took place in Cyprus, it became apparent that Turkey was unprepared and caught off guard. Turkish governments should always have been prepared to show the necessary reaction against the Greeks, anticipating that such events would occur on the island. For example, as soon as the Greek coup took place in Cyprus on 15 July, the Turkish government should have immediately intervened by sending military forces to the island.

"In the event of an invasion of the island, or an attack on our compatriots in Cyprus, or if it is determined that the Greeks have begun to introduce armed forces into Cyprus," taking into account many such possibilities, Turkey had to plan its internal affairs in advance and take action against such situations when they arose. On 15 July, it was seen that Turkey was again unprepared in the face of the Greek coup. The coup lasted for six days, from 15 July until the morning of 20 July. During this period, the Greeks completed their preparations and took up positions, effectively blocking Turkey's exit.

Prior to this, in December 1963, January 1964, and 1967, circumstances arose that justified the intervention of our Armed Forces. But at that time

## DIŞ SİYASET

republican governments regretfully failed to capitalise on these opportunities.

### The first operation and criticism

Along with Ges, the Turkish government reacted against the coup attempt of 15 July and carried out the intervention that the Turkish people had been waiting for over ten years. In this respect, it has achieved a commendable success. However, the intervention carried out was not comprehensive in terms of the forces used. The political objectives announced by the Ecevit government as the reasons for the intervention were declared by the Prime Minister as follows: "The constitutional order established in Cyprus by the London and Zurich agreements has been destroyed. We are intervening with the aim of re-establishing this constitutional order. The second reason is to guarantee the security of our compatriots living in Cyprus. The third reason is to establish peace in Cyprus, the fourth reason is not to allow the balance achieved in the Eastern Mediterranean to be disrupted, and the fifth reason is to block the path to Enosis." Therefore, in order to achieve these political objectives, a large number of forces must be deployed and a sufficiently large area must be brought under military control in a short time. We have identified this major shortcoming in the intervention undertaken by the government. On the first day, a force of no more than 4-5 thousand was dispatched to the island, which is a very small number. We have also determined that a similarly inadequate force was dispatched on the second day.

## BASIC OBSERVATIONS

This is only in the Girne region. No landings have been made in other regions of the island. Finally, at the time the ceasefire was accepted, the number of our forces, according to foreign agencies, was only 13 or 15 thousand. The area our forces have brought under control is a superior terrain measuring 30 km in width and 25 km in depth. This area is very small.

The military forces deployed in the field are not sufficient to guarantee the security of our compatriots in Cyprus, prevent Enosis, or re-establish the constitutional order established in Cyprus by the London and Zurich agreements. nor are they sufficient to re-establish the balance established in the Eastern Mediterranean by the Treaty of Lausanne. The Greeks will be able to bring as many forces, weapons and ammunition as they want to the island from anywhere in the other parts of the country whenever they want. They can make the preparations they want in secret. In that respect, while I welcome this initiative with appreciation, I believe that this historic opportunity has not been fully exploited in terms of the amount of force used and the speed and scope of the action taken. Consequently, I am confident that we will be able to achieve the political objectives we have set for ourselves in the negotiations we will enter into in Geneva. Instead of this approach, if sufficient Turkish forces had been deployed to Cyprus in a short time, reinforced by four infantry divisions and an armoured brigade, and at least half of the island had been occupied, that is, if the Girne-Lefkoşa - Limassol corridor were completely in Turkish hands, and the Larnaca and Famagusta regions to the east were also completely under Turkish occupation, this would be...

## **DIŞ SİYASET**

The dispute over the Green Line would have provided an advantage. The security of the Turks would have been largely guaranteed, and a complete balance would have been established in the Eastern Mediterranean, with Turkey's security also guaranteed.

Finally, decisive intervention took place after the Geneva Conference failed to reach an agreement. The heroic Turkish Armed Forces secured the Green Line.

### **The definitive solution**

It is clear that the Greek Cypriots, who have threatened the Turkish presence on the island to date and will continue to do so in the future, will not be able to live in peace unless they are isolated and rendered harmless to the Turks. Despite all the good intentions of the Republic of Turkey, if murders and massacres continue on the island and all kinds of human rights violations against Turks persist, then there is only one solution left. That is for Turkey to continue its energetic approach, as it has demonstrated before.

We must accelerate extensive and planned propaganda activities to enlighten world public opinion and win it over to our side, and in parallel, we must undertake major and widespread diplomatic efforts.

To legalise the current de facto situation on the island and prevent potential murders, it is necessary to launch a third operation on the island and rid it of Greek settlers without leaving a single armed Greek behind. The foremost measure to be taken is a propaganda campaign that will neutralise Greek propaganda by exposing it for what it is.

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

We must explain the facts and our just cause to world public opinion through honourable, broad, continuous and sustained propaganda activities and gain acceptance for them. The economic development of Cyprus is also one of the most important issues.

Turkey possesses words and measures that will have a very positive effect on Greece. Cyprus and the **Aegean** Sea, the continental shelf...

In matters of sovereignty, it is necessary to engage in planned propaganda, to engage in planned activities, and to engage in planned diplomatic activity. Indolence and stagnation are not the way forward. The Turkish nation, the future generations of Turkey, must never forget this. As long as the Greeks continue to engage in activities against us, as long as their books contain ideas and writings claiming rights over our lands, and as long as they continue to instil these ideas in their children, and as long as the press continues to behave in a manner that is always hostile towards us and expresses greed and desire for our homeland, the goal of the Turkish nation is the islands that are part of Thessaloniki, Western Thrace and Anatolia.



## MİLLÎ SAVUNMA





## NATIONAL DEFENCE POLICY

The happiest ideal is for a nation to live as an independent, free, strong and prosperous state. Although civilisation has advanced greatly on earth today, and the United Nations Organisation exists, the life of every nation depends on the defence and security measures it takes. Our friend and ally...

The attacks and events that Pakistan, a divided country, has faced in recent years have demonstrated that every nation must be strong and ensure its own security in order to protect its national rights and interests. Otherwise, neither the United Nations Organisation nor the Universal Declaration of Human Rights can sufficiently protect a state's independence and territorial integrity. As the Republic of Turkey, we too are obliged to ensure our own security and national defence. Today, modern Weapons, equipment and tools have advanced. They require industrial power and high scientific and technical capabilities. Since our nation has not yet advanced in science, technology and industry, we cannot produce the weapons and equipment necessary for our defence ourselves. We either have to obtain them from our allies' assistance or purchase them.

We cannot produce these weapons, equipment, and tools ourselves. We must either obtain them through the assistance of our allies or purchase them with money

We must purchase them. Today's advanced modern weapons and equipment are very expensive. However, a nation's independence and freedom are above all else. Protecting our state and ensuring the security of our homeland's integrity is a matter worthy of any sacrifice. For this reason, Turkey must be superior to all its neighbours in the region, except for the Soviet Union, in terms of national defence capabilities and must maintain this superiority. In doing so, it is the duty of the administrators to find a way to avoid hindering economic and social development.

It is impossible to live in a state of trust, believing in the good intentions of others. Those who govern Turkey have made serious mistakes in past years, and Turkey's military has neglected their own security. Above all, we must rely on our own armed forces. Possessing military forces superior to those of our neighbours outside the Soviet Union must be an unchanging national policy for Turkey. The capabilities of the Turkish nation and the peaceful stance pursued since the founding of the Republic are useful factors in enabling Turkey to present itself to other nations.

The Middle East and the Far East are pregnant with surprising and momentous events. We must put national unity and solidarity above all else, rise above internal political sensitivities, and make sacrifices, be patient, anticipate events, and take bold steps to protect our national existence and integrity.

## **NATIONAL DEFENCE INDUSTRY**

For years, the Turkish nation, which has fallen into a backward and miserable state as a result of inexplicable neglect, has been facing internal and external threats that endanger its existence, the integrity of its state, and its independence. The treacherous movements originating from outside sources that seek to undermine our country from within, and the competition between states occurring throughout the world, especially the Cyprus, Aegean Sea and Middle East issues that have affected our homeland, have ignited a great awakening in the Turkish people. Today, we as a nation understand this with certainty: the Turkish state and Turkish existence cannot survive with the mindsets and policies that have prevailed until now. Turkey must make bold and radical moves and leaps forward, remaining faithful to the spirit of its national culture and history. It must aim to reach the level of the most advanced nations and states and strive towards this goal.

In order to achieve this within the required timeframe, we must come together as a nation, with our politicians, public sector, private sector, workers and businesspeople, military and press, with sacred enthusiasm and zeal.

## MİLLÎ SAVUNMA

While planning to reach the level of contemporary civilisation through modern scientific methods, one must not overlook a crucial point: A mindset that sidelines the Turkish genius, nurtured by diverse cultures and civilisations, and prioritises imitation and plagiarism cannot foster creativity, initiative, or proposals that lead to great achievements. Those who have determined Turkey's destiny to date have chosen this path, which they saw as easy and effortless, in order to achieve results quickly. We must swiftly distance ourselves from this mindset, which has been prevalent for many years and is now driving Turkey into panic. ***The book that keeps track of facts, movements, and photographs is the national conscience.*** Every development, every discovery springs from human thought. The silent mind, however, draws its constructive, creative power from national cultures. It is possible for a person who draws on cosmopolitan or foreign cultures to understand and assimilate these cultural values and to make original contributions based on these values. This is because, in the world order of nations, a person's understanding and assimilation of their own culture is based on the education they received from childhood and the national heritage they inherited from their history.

I believe I have pointed out a fundamental error that has persisted for many years.  
in this way.

Without concern for the fate of the nation and the state; it is wrong to consider it sufficient and valid to pursue only material gain in a way that stirs up the envy of the masses. We are bound to each other by the bonds of shared destiny among the people aboard this ship. If we rise, we rise together; if we sink, we sink together.

#### BASIC VIEWS

Today in Turkey, foreign ideological propaganda seeking to steer the country's main issues in certain directions is rapidly developing. One of the important aspects of the success of this propaganda is the creation of a negative perception of the private sector. Propaganda insisting that free enterprise is to blame for the difficulties Turkey finds itself in is being persistently pursued by certain centres.

The state must fulfil its duty.

Unfortunately, the development policies implemented to date have often run counter to our national interests. In the 20th century, the Turkish State should not engage in textile manufacturing. The public sector and the private sector must be freed from destructive competition that harms the national economy. To this end, the areas of activity of both sectors should be broadly defined and structured to complement and complete each other. The state should establish and develop strategic sectors: the basic chemical industry, the heavy machinery and equipment industry, and the defence industry. The economic policy currently being implemented, under the name of a mixed economy, consists of a series of measures that are uncertain and do not inspire confidence. Today, the state sector operates 150 billion in production capital, unfortunately with less than \$» 1 in capital productivity. In contrast, the private sector pays 5 billion in taxes to the state from its 10 billion profit with 50 billion in production capital. Those who pay their taxes honestly, whose goal in every economic activity is the national interest...

## NATIONAL DEFENCE

We believe that honest and courageous businesspeople who pay their taxes honestly and are conscious that their economic activities are in the national interest deserve praise and appreciation.

The national industry is a whole. It is pointless to even discuss giving priority to the war industry. A country's standing at home and abroad depends on its modern military power. Under current conditions, in order to meet all the needs of our defence force, it is necessary to establish and develop the military industry sector of the national industry. This may require time, along with various factors. However, this time must be minimised.

requires sacrifice.

and every price must be paid

. I am fully confident that the Turkish economy, which has been brought to a stable and secure environment

, I am fully confident that the Turkish economy can achieve this goal in a very short time.

We must possess atomic weapons.

Our world has entered the age of electronic missiles and atomic weapons. Today, nine states possess atomic weapons

. Greece, Iran and Israel, among others, are also on the path to acquiring this weapon. Russia and other neighbours possess this

. Turkey's situation

is serious. In order to maintain our existence and independence, we must seek and find the means to obtain the same capabilities. We must begin-

.gıçta sayı takımından az da olsa, atom silahına sahtp Türkiye'nin millî savunması tartışmasız kabul edile-rektir. Böylece de dünya siyasetinde eiddî ağırlık ifade

#### TSMEİ6 VIEWS

We will have achieved an important position. Industrialisation as a whole, and allocating significant resources to the defence industry for this purpose, is not the goal for Turkey. Our goal is to reach the level of the age we live in and to reach the most advanced level. I have mentioned electronics, missiles and atomic weapons. This should be Turkey's goal. To this end, all necessary measures must be taken by the state, the private sector, and the nation. Looking at the situation our country finds itself in today, it is necessary to be pessimistic.

Based on the views derived from the history and national culture of the Turkish nation, I believe that it will overcome all obstacles and reach the level of advanced nations on earth.

#### The issue of phantom aircraft

The ability of a nation to live freely and independently depends, above all, on its own strength. Among the various elements that constitute the power of a state, preserving its independence and territorial integrity is fundamental. The basis of a nation's national defence forces is its armed forces. Comprising three main branches—land, air, and sea forces—the armed forces one day represent the distinction of a society in terms of its material and moral qualities and capabilities. In our time, science and technology have advanced considerably. Modern weapons, equipment, and vehicles are evolving and changing daily.

## NATIONAL DEFENCE

If a nation is advanced in science, technology and civilisation, its armed forces will also be advanced and powerful. It is impossible for a society that is backward in civilisation and science to have advanced and powerful armed forces. This is because it cannot produce the weapons and equipment based on the advanced technology of the age in which it lives.

It is forced to purchase them from advanced countries with money or to obtain them through political agreements and exchanges of interests. This is like trying to turn a mill with water. Therefore, nations that wish to live freely and independently, that wish to protect their existence, that wish to realise their national ideals, must rapidly develop in science, technology and civilisation. Modern weapons and equipment are prohibitively expensive.

It is expensive. Unless we can produce these items in our own country with our own factories and with the knowledge and manual labour of our own people. If we resort to purchasing them with money, acquiring these very expensive weapons and equipment will disrupt our country's economic situation and prosperity. Furthermore, after acquiring a new weapon, become obsolete due to new inventions. obsolete. and it must be renewed. In this regard, it would be more appropriate to prevent conflicts of interest between nations and to ensure this. On the other hand, science and technology must be rapidly advanced and industrialisation must be pursued.

Despite the general views outlined above, the preservation, continuation, and continuous advancement of the Turkish nation's existence is a matter that supersedes all else. For our independence, the homeland

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## BASIC PRINCIPLES

, a movement and sacrifice that cannot be undertaken for the integrity of our nation and the honourable existence of our people. Turkey is surrounded by ten different states on land and sea. One of these is Soviet Russia. The Soviet Union today constitutes one of the five most advanced superpowers in the world. Soviet Russia possesses the world's largest military forces. Although Turkey has superior forces in terms of numbers, it is surrounded by about 15 large nations and states that are hostile to it. In addition, it is surrounded by hostile nations in the air, at sea, and on land.

, but it is also bordered by about 15 large nations and states that are hostile to it. Furthermore, it faces other superpowers in the air, at sea, on land, and in space. It is obliged to organise and use its superior forces accordingly. This special-

Considering its size, Turkey can be considered to have forces at its disposal in the region that can, to a certain extent, balance Turkey's power.

Turkey is compelled to protect its own existence s •  
and must find ways to achieve it. For this reason, it is essential that the Turkish Armed Forces always possess a deterrent, dissuasive **quality**, a spirit, and superiority. Those who govern our state must always keep the **Turkish** Armed Forces ready for action. Furthermore, in terms of national defence capabilities, it is an unchanging policy for us to be superior to our neighbours, with the exception of Soviet Russia.

The issue of Phantom aircraft has sparked heated debate among our statesmen. Phantom aircraft are superior air weapons. In a nutshell,  
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## **MILLİSAVUNMA**

They are superior to other types of aircraft in terms of the altitude they can climb, their speed, and the tasks they perform. They are capable of carrying out bombing, fighter, and reconnaissance missions in all weather conditions, day and night. They can also drop atomic bombs. Thanks to modern innovations, they can hit their targets with unerring accuracy without putting themselves in danger. One of these aircraft is worth 75 million lira of our currency. Experts say that one of these aircraft is worth thirty of the old aircraft. Our neighbour, the Iranian Air Force, has had 126 of these aircraft, or 7 squadrons, for two years now. It is also known that the Israeli Air Force has had them for two years and is using them. Recently, they have also begun to be supplied to our ally Greece. According to our friend Osman, who flies to and from Athens, Yurian pilots are being trained in Phantom aircraft belonging to the sixth squadron at Athens Airport. In addition to these, the armed forces of our other neighbours also have modern aircraft, weapons and vehicles. The armed forces of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and Romania

It is particularly equipping Bulgarian forces with the most modern weapons and equipment. Furthermore, in light of recent agreements with Syria and Iraq, the Soviet Union is supplying these countries with modern weapons. In view of all these developments, it is clear that Turkey must maintain superiority in its national defence capabilities.

must maintain superior national defence capabilities. For the Turkish Air Force, the only way to ensure superiority in the current state of peace is to possess 200 Phantom aircraft, making it the largest fleet in the world.

This requires having 10 or 12 fleets. If purchased with money, the cost would be 200 US dollars per unit, amounting to 15 billion lira. It is not appropriate for Turkey to incur such an expense, which is detrimental to its industrialisation and economic development. It is necessary and possible for various state institutions to meet these needs through political means. For this, we must be very vigilant and not be swept along by events. Considering developments in modern strategy and world politics, negotiations should be conducted with our allies and friends. The strategic and political plans regarding the Middle East currently pursued by the United States and our other allied states are inadequate and flawed. Identifying and explaining this with all the evidence and reasons, and correcting and changing the stance and course of action is of vital importance for Turkey.



## BELGELER



An excerpt from Alparslan Türkeş's interrogation in the 1944 "Racism-Turanism" case.

Bälönı — In the 8th investigation decision, you stated that you had heard the testimony of the witness. What do you have to say in response to this?

Türheg — Your Honour, I would first like to ask your permission to say a few words about a point that deeply saddens me. In the final investigation decision, I, along with the other defendants, have been accused of treason. I vehemently deny this. I love my nation and my homeland more than anything else on earth. I am, in the absolute sense of the word, a patriotic, homeland-loving Turkish officer.

Regarding the final investigation decision concerning me:

- It is stated that he is so nationalistic, racist and negative that he overshadows Atsız. I wish to present my thoughts on these concepts to you. I have always believed in the principles accepted by my state and have never deviated from respecting and obeying them. I am a good nationalist, but I do not believe in the meaning attributed to it.

I am not a racist. You want to divide the country and create hostility.

I have no idea what might lead to such a situation. I only believe that the Turkish nation possesses a unique creation on earth and that there is no nation superior to this nation in terms of greatness. I cite the War of Independence as the closest example of this. Surrounded on all sides, it was thanks to our resilience and superior nature that we prevailed against an enemy ten or twenty times our size in every respect, rescued our independence, raised our flag that had fallen to the ground, and restored it once more. This stems from our national character. I am proud of this. To put it briefly **in military terms**

## BELGİLER

as follows: A Turkish platoon can easily defeat three, five, or even more enemy platoons. And it has done so...

First, we would like to ask you about this point: We would like to know your opinion on the idea that there are no people in Turkey who come from a purely leftist background and are of mixed ethnicity.

Türreş — Today, the principle accepted and implemented by our state is, in my opinion, the most correct and reasonable principle. That is, while viewing Turkishness as superior to everything else, non-Turkish elements should also be represented in a very short time, both culturally and through persuasion... I also consider this to be correct. As for administration: My personal opinion is that it is appropriate for important tasks to be carried out by individuals who are either entirely Turkish, that is, who are represented and consider themselves to be nothing other than Turkish, or who are of **Turkish** descent.

Jfâhim — What about **mixed** races?

Türreş — I have stated, sir, that since it is a Turkish matter, I do not consider it right to search for it on the grounds that the grandfather or grandmother was like that.

Prosecutor — Sir, he says he will accept it if it is mixed. Judge — So, he says he will accept those who say " " is Turkish and " " is Turkish ( ) and will not accept those who say " " ( ).

:presentation?

**Türreş** — Those who have fully embodied Turkishness... Sir, it is not enough to say they are wrong. Today, a Jew could come and say, "I am Turkish." But his language is not Turkish, his traditions are not Turkish. Everything is different. He cannot be called **Turkish**. What I am saying is that he must be Turkish in his traditions, language, and everything else.

.....

**Tlahim** — What are your thoughts on Turanism?

? **Türreş** — In

my opinion, **the Turkish nation** is concerned about everything.

. We must strive to reach the highest level in science, knowledge, industry, economics, and other fields in our country... Tu-

.ran, that is, Turkish unity is not just those in Asia, but all Turks. That is, in the scientific sense, other than , all

.Witrklerdir. The Turkish unity is not limited to those in Asia alone, but also includes the Bulgarians-



## TSSƏBİ• GÖRÜŞƏZR

rtstendakl, a concept that includes Turks in Greece and other regions.

**Gâkim** — HazırLk tahkiWtın0a: °KasaL nütuslu nations are exposed to danger. You say, "Therefore, at the first opportunity, all Turks must unite."

**Tiirheş** — Sir, let me explain: These are merely my personal wishes. Naturally, you are correct in saying that there are many factors that constitute the strength of a state. One of these is the state's population. This may be one of the wishes for Turkish unity. I wish to clarify this. Today, our population is small. I did not say we should immediately march towards a defeated region to increase it. This is also a matter for the future. And it constitutes a strength for our state.

President Pasha — Well, how can we take advantage of this situation?

**Zürkeş** — Sir, for example, just as in 1917, a revolution could occur in Russia in 1965 or 1999. By that time, Turkey will have advanced in terms of its war industry, science and knowledge. And with Turkey's cooperation, this union can be achieved. That is the opportunity.

Bagkan **Pasha** — What will be the borders of the union?

Türkeş — The unification of Turks under the Turkish flag...

President Pasha — Are we talking about geographical borders?

Türkeş — Sir, the geographical borders are the places where Turks are located.

**President Pasha** — You just said all Turks. There is a certain type in Bulgaria. Is there one in Iran, in the hands of the British?

**Türües** — Sir, just as the largest Turkish population is in Russia, Russia is also our greatest enemy for other reasons, other factors. It is Russia that has brought us to this state, that has bitten us, that has torn our empire apart. It is also Russia that, due to our current situation, forces us to wander and struggle. That is why, in my opinion, our greatest enemy is Russia. Bulgaria is small. Iran is behind us in every respect. As for the British, they have Cyprus in their hands. And there are seventy to eighty thousand Turks in Cyprus.

Alpaislan Türkeş's radio address announcing the 27 May 1960 coup  
as the "27 May National Unity Movement"

The Turkish Armed Forces have taken control of the country's administration due to the crisis that has engulfed our democracy and the recent violent incidents, and in order to prevent a civil war. Our armed forces have taken this action to rescue the parties from the situation they have fallen into and, under the supervision and arbitration of a neutral administration above the parties, to hold fair and free elections as soon as possible and to hand over the administration to those who win the elections, regardless of which side they belong to. and to hand it over to the winners. This undertaking is not subject to any conditions or restrictions. No one shall attempt any act that infringes upon the rights of others, nor shall any such act be tolerated. Regardless of their beliefs and which party they belong to, every citizen will be treated according to the principles of law and justice. All citizens must remember that they are children of the same nation, descended from the same stock, and must treat each other with respect and understanding, without animosity. is essential for the alleviation of our grievances and the preservation of our national existence. We request that individuals belonging to the opposition seek refuge in the Turkish Armed Forces. Their safety is guaranteed. To our allies, our compatriots, and the whole world We are committed to this. Our goal is full compliance with the United Nations Charter and the Principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Atatürk's principle of "Peace at home, peace in the world" is our banner. We are faithful to all our commitments and obligations. We believe in and are committed to NATO. We believe in and are committed to CENTO. We repeat our conviction: "Peace at home, peace in the world."

's letter to the then President of the Republic, Cemal Gürsel, stating that if the High Court of Justice sentences Alparslan Türkeş to death, the sentence should not be carried out.

New Delhi — India

7 August 1961

General,

I never intended to write. However, today it has become necessary to bring certain matters to your attention regarding the high interests of the State.

The High Court of Justice will pass judgement on the former members of the government within a few days. It is imperative not to interfere with the course of justice and to remain impartial at all times. However, it has been deemed worthy of further examination when the sentences are carried out in light of the current situation in the country.

If the sentences handed down by the High Court of Justice include death sentences, it would be beneficial to reduce these sentences to life imprisonment ( ) and to consider commuting them ( ) ( ) ( ). Because:

a) The execution of death sentences will further increase the unrest that has arisen in society due to the many missteps taken since 3 November.

b) The implementation of death sentences will provoke reactions against our nation and state abroad.

ci In the event of the imposition of death penalties, the hatred and animosity dividing the nation will intensify, and the objective of 27 May will be hindered in its development of the spirit of unity.

c) In response to the objections listed above, there is no justification whatsoever for imposing such penalties on the country.

## DOCUMENTS

Essentially, the imposition of death penalties for political crimes is incompatible with today's standards of humanity.

In addition to the considerations listed above, the following points must also be examined from a legal perspective.

I — The final review of death sentences handed down by the High Court of Justice was the responsibility of the 27 MAY NATIONAL UNITY COMMITTEE, which was the sole legitimate legislative body at the time the relevant law came into force.

II — Today, however, the legislative body is not solely the 13 November Committee, but the Constituent Assembly, which is formed jointly with the Assembly of Representatives.

III — According to the Turkish Constitution, the final review of death sentences is the responsibility of the legislative bodies. Therefore, it is impossible for the death sentences to be handed down by the High Court of Justice today to be reviewed solely by the 3 November Committee.

Otherwise, I remind you that you will be held accountable before the nation and history.

Yours sincerely,

**&Iparslan T rkes**

Alparslan Türkeş's letter dated 30 March 1962 and published in the 10th issue of Millî Yol regarding the execution of death sentences

Delhi, 19 May  
1962

Dear brother .....Sir,

I received your heartfelt and sincere letter dated 14 August 1961. You are right in your sorrow and indignation. Never lose your faith. Menderes (may Allah have mercy on him) was wrong, and İnönü, together with his followers, had plunged the country into chaos and disorder with their intrigues and corruption. I intervened in this conflict to stop the parties from fighting and, above all, to protect the country from the CHP's intrigues. Because what really matters is protecting and saving the Turkish nation, the poor Turkish villagers, the Turkish people, not parties or factions. After 27 May, I always strove for impartial and fair administration. However, those who saw me as an obstacle to their own interests, ambitions, and corruption attempted to assassinate me, and I was forcibly exiled when my front door was broken down in the middle of the night. After 27 May, I persuaded Menderes and his friends to go to Switzerland. However, due to the opposition of Muclp Ataklı, Osman Köksal, Ekrem Acuner, Gemsl Madanoğlu, Gami Eüçük, Flkret Kuytak and ....., who were agents of the G.£f.P. within the committee *and* the army, this initiative failed.

They were scattered and became soulless... and with their discord, I deviated from my initial decision.

From here, I wrote another letter to them, Yassiaaa

BELİGL£'1R

I requested that they not consent to the execution of the death sentences to be imposed on the defendants...

Learning that three people had been executed, I was deeply saddened, just as you are. May God grant our nation and homeland peace and happiness in the near future.

I send you my warmest regards and kiss your eyes. I await news of your health and wellbeing.

Alparslan Türkeş

## Alparslan Türkeş's defence in the 20/21 May events trial

14 August 1963

(This **defence** was made **orally and** is reproduced below exactly as it was recorded in the court minutes.)

It is now crystal clear that we had no connection to the events of 20/21 May and that we have been unjustly, unfairly and deliberately implicated in this case. Why were we implicated in this case? Yes, there was indeed a major incident in the country on 20/21 May. And, of course, the country's legitimate government was responsible for responding to it. But what are the reasons that prevent us from being involved in **this case**? I will now summarise this before you, . . . I, . . ., and . . . As is well known, we were among those who organised the 27 May movement, and in the period following 27 May, we also took on responsibilities in the service of the country for a time. We never described the 27 May movement as a revolution. We called this movement a security movement or the White Revolution. Indeed, after 27 May, we called the book we prepared and published on this subject at the Prime Ministry the White Revolution. 27 May was not a revolution; it was not prepared as a revolution. We are therefore people who participated in 27 May. Before 27 May, our identity was that of modest officers serving in the Turkish Army. These services were always appreciated during my time in the army, and I performed them in the army's high ranks. Until 27 May, there was nothing in our lives that would invite anyone's suspicion. 27 May is a public holiday by law.

## DOCUMENTS

It is a holiday that has been established and is one of the national holidays. Therefore, protesting on 27 May and then taking up a position in the civil service cannot be a crime... So why were we sent abroad on 13 November? No one can hold us responsible for 13 November. Essentially, 13 November has caused us injustice, and being sent abroad and assigned duties has been in accordance with the current May 7th Agreement. I will not dwell on this any further...

My duty is also evident abroad. Wherever we were sent, we always worked for the happiness and welfare of our country and nation. After 13 November, a group called the 14s emerged. We did not establish the 24s. The 14s discussed many national issues at their last meeting in Brussels on 2 August 1962. Afterwards, the 14s discussed the fact that they were not and could not be a group, and ultimately decided that the former officers known as the 14s should henceforth live their lives independently as citizens within the country, according to their own convictions. This decision was communicated to the domestic and foreign press.

This decision was published in various newspapers on 3 August 1962 and announced to the general public. The 14 had not, in fact, taken collective action before this. Therefore, there is nothing to suggest that we bear any responsibility in this regard.

After that, some of our Peyderpex friends returned home. I arrived here at the end of February **1963**. From the moment I set foot on Turkish soil in Edirne, I was welcomed with great affection, even though I was not affiliated with any political party. This was a manifestation of the people's love for us, as well as their expectation of service. Even before returning to the country, I had decided to serve the nation within the framework of the Constitution and the laws. And I was certain that I would be of no benefit to the country. Twenty days passed after my arrival in the country until the events of 21 May. And at the end of those twenty days, we were thrown into prison. Were my actions suspicious during this time? These two months and 20 days passed under the watchful eye of the security forces. My home was always under the supervision of four security officers. My travels were monitored by the security forces.



## TEMEE GÖRİŞLER

We have rejected the proposals. The statement we made at that time is also clear. I have declared that all our activities will be within the framework of the Constitution and laws. The activities I have undertaken are within the rights granted by the Constitution and consisted of establishing a legitimate organisation. Separately, I have made repeated statements to strengthen the democratic order in the country. For example, in my statement published in the Yeni Gün newspaper on 16 March, I clearly stated that a coup in the country would be a disaster, and that even contemplating a coup would be treason. After that, a coup is not carried out every day, every year. I stated that this would cause great harm to the country. So, given that these things are so clear, why are my friends and I implicated in the events of 20/21 May? Now, it will be possible to deduce the reason from the points I will present in order . Before addressing these incidents, the prosecution, in its opinion on the main charge, demonstrated a sense of justice by requesting my acquittal, as it did not consider the allegations in the final indictment to be valid. I am grateful for this. However, the investigation decision contains unfounded and baseless accusations. The High Court, in its decision dated 24 July, has taken into account the offence described in Article 151 of the Turkish Penal Code, and we have prepared our defence accordingly. To date, I have endeavoured to speak as much as possible. The reason for this is that, as much as considering the high interests of the state, we have also strived not to offend those who might be offended by our statements. Because I believe in the principle that, instead of chasing after the past and wasting human resources, those who have understood their mistakes should be rewarded and utilised for the benefit of the country. However, this restraint of ours has led certain circles to harbour erroneous thoughts and misinterpret historical events. Because we have encountered words and events that indicate this, both the activities of the National Unity Committee and the misconceptions that have arisen about 27 May To clarify my thoughts and opinions, I found it useful to make some brief explanations and offer certain corrections:

Among those most deeply saddened by the events engulfing the country today are the members of the . Had the 27 May movement been carried out according to the plans of those who orchestrated it, the country would have been spared these sufferings...

## DOCUMENTS

**MBR's Liberation:** MBR was founded one evening in 1958 in Gençlik Park. Its founders were nine or ten young men. Even before this, many patriotic officers within the army had gathered in groups around certain ideas. However, the establishment of such an organisation under this name took place on 14 August 1958, as I mentioned earlier. Following the establishment of the MBK, the then Commander of the Land Forces, General Gemal Gürsel, was also appointed to the Committee. The Committee ensured unity in its preparations and work; it did not make any distinctions between senior officers, junior officers, generals, or petty officers, but rather considered it essential to prevent any deviation from the chosen course of action. The planning of 27 May has sometimes given rise to rumours in various circles that there was no real plan, that it was poorly executed. These are the words of those who do not know the truth, the inner workings of the preparations. The 27 May movement was planned in a very beautiful and exemplary manner. That is why, on the morning of 27 May, the armed forces took control of the entire administration in just 3.5 hours. The fact that the armed forces accomplished this without harming a single citizen earned them great admiration both at home and abroad and led to the armed forces being p r a i s e d .

The aim of 27 May, in summary, was to put an end to the situation that had arisen at that time, to end the civil strife, to establish national unity and to ensure a non-partisan administration. Meanwhile, as we mentioned during the investigation, two views emerged. S o m e of our colleagues advocated bringing the CHP to power immediately. This view was deemed problematic from our perspective for the following reasons:

Such an attitude was considered detrimental to the army. Because in that case, the army would have missed the party, joined forces with it, and stood against part of the nation. This was contrary to national unity and the concept of armed forces. On the other hand, it was also detrimental to democracy. Because such an attitude would destroy democracy in the country and pave the way for a single-party dictatorship. On the other hand, it was unacceptable to us because its existence in the country would be detrimental and fatal to the parties that were the foundation of the democratic regime and to the CHP. Ultimately, this movement would run its course. Subsequently, this party-

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

So, you provoked the army because you couldn't take power through elections, through legal means. It would be said that you came to power by force. Thus, these accusations would become the decision of this party, leading to the party's withdrawal from life. This was my firm belief, and it was also accepted by the majority of our comrades, and it was decided that a joint administration would be established.

One of the goals of the National Unity Committee was to bring the Turkish nation to a state of unity. For us, it has been 163 years since Selim I began the process of modernisation and Westernisation. Japan then embarked on Westernisation in 1860. It succeeded in this endeavour within forty-five years, achieving great success in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905. We, on the other hand, have been striving for 163 years to achieve success in our attempts at modernisation and development. We considered these points while preparing for 27 May and came to *the following conclusion*. It is not enough to merely adopt the outward appearance of the West. We must understand Western science and knowledge, their principles and methods, and make them our own.

We also addressed the issue of putting an end to the disrespect and disregard shown towards the Turkish Armed Forces. I will not dwell on this point. Soldiers know what this means.

Our objectives included implementing a major agricultural reform and establishing a social welfare institution that would serve all citizens. In our country, individuals are independent and self-reliant. Such institutions exist in other countries. No citizen is left without assistance. This required a broad social welfare system. It was also necessary to mobilise internally. According to official statistics, our people are productive for six months of the year, while the remaining eight months are idle. Evaluating this and resolving this issue was among our programme's objectives. - To enlighten our people through the fine arts and literature, to achieve national unity and national awakening, to mobilise the people for economic development, to activate the energy of the people, to increase opportunities. Our main goals, which were also part of our plan, were to establish a truly democratic order. To this end, we immediately convened a Constituent Assembly and prepared a Constitution.

## DOCUMENTS

The primary objective was to adapt existing laws to the National Unity Committee. During this period, the membership of National Unity Committee members in a political party or their withdrawal from such a party was also among the matters planned prior to 27 May. The claim that 27 May was based on a political party is incorrect. 27 May was not based on a party. Neither before nor during the 27 May events were any retired officers included in the organisation of the National Unity Committee or in 27 May. No retired officers participated in the 27 May operation (\*). The statements that the period after 27 March was not planned are inaccurate. To summarise these points:

It is possible to put it. After 27 May, many activities were prepared in advance and carried out according to plan from 1960 to 1961. In this context, the State Planning Organisation was established and began operations. On the morning of 27 May, all martial law restrictions in the country were lifted. Prisons were opened. Political prisoners were released. The following day, the British Ambassador said the following during his visit to the Head of State: "In every country, military intervention always leads to the restriction of freedoms. Eight hours after the coup, you lifted all restrictions. You emptied the prisons and released political prisoners. This is something astonishing and admirable." In addition, with the amendments made to the Reserve Officers Act, the national education campaign was attempted to be resolved, and this issue was considered as a remedy, which was also beneficial. Furthermore, the Intellectual Workers Law, the Army Mutual Aid Association, the movement to rejuvenate the army, the socialisation of medicine, and the establishment of the Turkish Cultural Association all took place during this period. Work on democratic institutions such as the bicameral parliament and the Constitutional Court also took place during this period. The abolition of administrative councils saved the state 100 million. Sending newspapers to the barracks and the matters mentioned above were the first tasks implemented and completed within the first six months. This was the situation after 27 May. The first thing we did to achieve success on 27 May was to bind ourselves to the Constitution with the law we named Law No. 1. No other country has ever seen such a thing in a military intervention. However, the architects of 27 May immediately drafted the Constitution (geçici Anayasayı nazırlamışlar, buna tabi olmuşlardır.

After 27 May , the main problems we encountered were as follows

: Some administrators at the head of the CHP were rushing to form a government. In contrast, at that time

### 3?EMEİ• GORÜÇMR

administrators of the existing People's **Party** were arguing that an early election should not be held because their illnesses and preparations were not complete. Meanwhile, many citizens from many circles were being subjected to incitement, provocation and denunciations. We tried not to pay attention to these. We did not pay **attention to** the proposals to close the DP. This was because we desired the continuation of the democratic system with all parties existing in the country. The DP was dissolved following a complaint filed with the court. It was dissolved by court order because it had not held a congress for two years.

We had considered deporting some members of the former regime from the country. However, the authorities did not allow this. We tried to prevent the recent riots. Our efforts to prevent them led to comments against us. We did not take sides and were trying to protect all citizens. On the one hand, o u r refusal to heed the pressure to take sides gave rise to rumours that we were on the other side, which were unfair and unfounded. From time to time, illegal actions were being carried out in various places. Someone was causing trouble, forcibly taking the seals from the village headmen and arbitrarily appointing new ones. We were fighting against these things. One day, the then Minister of Tourism sent two of his associates to me. One of them was this person's sister. I received them. The woman cried, complaining that her husband was the Mayor of Uşak, but one night, after midnight, the gendarmerie and police had dragged him out of bed and taken him away. The Deputy Chairman of the Hall Party was also among the gendarmerie commanders. The woman who was crying was the sister of the current government's Minister of Press, Publications and Tourism. Naturally, we intervened in such illegal acts. Our efforts to investigate these matters worked against us. We were not party members or partisans. We were simply trying to serve the nation in the spirit that our army had instilled in us.

Meanwhile, the Ministry of Social Assistance, the labour mobilisation, and the cultural associations were addressed. Cultural associations launched a cultural campaign in villages with 20 teams. Meanwhile, **on the one hand**, some politicians urged **us** to apply revolutionary methods.

## DOCUMENTS

It was recommended that we not engage in long-term projects. "Your task is complete. You have carried out the coup, hold elections quickly and leave," they said. In contrast, another group of citizens and organisations said, "Do not go to the elections yet, as the conditions are not favourable," as I mentioned earlier. They said, "The National Unity Administration has been accepted. Make the necessary preparations for a while longer, let the conditions be favourable, and then go to the elections."

We were considering the necessity of drafting the Constitution and the dissolution of the courts, caught between these two demands. and during this period, we were considering the idea of the National Unity Committee becoming a political party. While we were exerting ourselves with such good intentions and honesty, it was being claimed that we were deliberately pro-dictatorship. However, since 7 May, my motto in various speeches and meetings has been: These words belong to a Hungarian poet. He says: "I would sacrifice my life, my freedom, for love." Therefore, everywhere and always, I have fundamentally advocated freedom and democracy. Meanwhile, it was also claimed that I was a Turkic nationalist. Explaining the internal dynamics of the Turkic nationalist cause would

d take too long. I will not take up your time discussing this. I was acquitted of this case and gave an account of myself. In fact, those who had committed abuses in connection with this case were brought to trial. These former members of the regime, who had been brought before the court, were only saved from the clutches of the law when Menderes came to power and issued an Amnesty Law, saying he would not pursue the past. Despite this, the incident, which had been settled twenty years ago, was being spread by word of mouth with false and fabricated stories. Naturally, this propaganda also had an effect on the committee. At a meeting held in late **October**, the committee, with the affirmative vote of President Gürsel, accepted by a large majority to become a party and made a decision on this matter. At that time, the issue of the Natural Senatorate, which had come before the committee, was also rejected. The reasons for the 13 resignations are clear from the points I have outlined so far. In summary, the main reasons for the 13th Assembly are that our decision to become a party greatly alarmed certain circles, the rejection of the natural senate, and the negative propaganda against us. 13 November was organised by the army.

## T'ZME6 OPINION

It did not succeed and was not approved by the army.

After we left the country, the propaganda against us continued. The people of Faltat understood us. This propaganda did not change, but it created a favourable atmosphere for us.

After 27 May, I took a stand against the idea of revolution. This was the fixed opinion of my comrades. The reasons for this were as follows: Before 27 May, it was believed that a military intervention would be the solution to everything, that it would save the country from the turmoil within. However, the problems we encountered after 27 May and the resulting reality showed that matters could not be resolved quickly with such measures. Another point is that frequent revolutions destroy the country. Real revolutions are carried out by the people. For example, the French Revolution was carried out by the ruling class, and eighty years later, real revolutions took place. Revolutions are major events. They are very costly. When a revolution occurs, the system breaks down and it is very difficult to establish a new system.

In the days following 27 May, we encountered the following events: The Istanbul National Unity Committee took this decision, news came that the Izmir MBK had taken this decision, and groups called MBK were emerging on both the right and the left. They were preoccupied with this. It was not easy to establish order. Progress and the establishment of a normal democratic order can only be achieved through peace and stability. Atatürk's approach was as follows. After making a thorough revolution in the country, Atatürk ensured the country's progress by establishing order and stability. In our opinion, there are two main reasons for the current unrest in the country ( ). One is the lack of regime security. The regime security ( ) must be established in every respect ( ), the regime ( ) must be guaranteed ( ) in every respect ( ), and it must be kept under the guarantee ( ) of the state ( ) in such a way that it does not give rise to suspicion ( ) by those responsible ( ) ( ). Otherwise, statements such as "if a certain party wins power, the army will not hand over power" or "there will be a revolution until that time" cause insecurity in the regime and undermine stability. At this time, everyone and every party must clearly show that they are defenders of democracy. It must be ensured that everyone will respect the election and its results and accept them willingly. If they are not sincere in this idea, the matter will not be resolved through elections, and looting will occur.

## **BELGELER**

The coming to power of the ğgrtl cannot be resolved; matters will be resolved through this method. It is necessary to sincerely convey this and to be fully committed to it. In my opinion, the country's development will best occur under a democratic system. In this regard, it is essential that the various parties work together. Secondly, the administration must be resolute. Life and property must not be endangered. The main reason for the current unrest is the administration's lack of resolve and the endangerment of life and property. These require a throne.

Regarding the secret alliance mentioned in Article 171, which was brought up against u s , our lawyers provided the necessary explanations. And in the court proceedings, not only was there no evidence against us in this regard, but not even the slightest indication emerged, and in fact, we never even considered such a thing. The documents presented as evidence of such an alliance also have no legal validity whatsoever. The paper in question, which was torn and crumpled, is a piece of paper torn from a notebook bound with a ring system. The diagram on it is a diagram commonly used everywhere. It is not specific to the military. Furthermore, a person who has been in the army for a long time carries out his activities according to the methods he is accustomed to. As for the other letter, it was drafted earlier and, as I mentioned, was prepared to prevent foreigners from learning about communications related to our country from our foreign correspondence. As for the list of names, I have not seen it. Even if I had seen it, it would not matter. Because I have long since chosen my path: to serve the country within the framework of the Constitution and the laws. I am held in great affection and esteem by the people. Therefore, it is possible for me to obtain every opportunity for the country through legitimate means and lawful activities. I had previously stated my views on this matter at during the investigation of our activities at and at .

I will not dwell on this.

I will mention certain points in the introduction to Article 151. We have no connection whatsoever with the activities of the so-called 22 February group. Like everyone else, I read about them in the newspapers and heard what was said. Therefore, it is not a matter of knowing about their movements beforehand and reporting them. On 20 May, between 6 and 8 p.m.,



## BASIC OPINION

, a person came and said, "There will be a revolution tonight or within three days." However, as I mentioned earlier, this friend said it would happen within three days. I told my fellow MPs about this.

I. I informed Hakkı Y:tlanllođlu and recommended that the parties issue a joint declaration to reduce tensions. I noted a six-point declaration as a precautionary measure in this regard.

I said that tomorrow, the four parties should meet in Parliament and issue a declaration to protect the security of the regime in the country and prevent such incidents. According to the declaration I mentioned, it is clear that I had no idea such a thing would happen that night. Furthermore, after the radio announcement that evening, such a violent incident occurred. declaration tomorrow, but it is clear that I did not know that such a thing would happen that night. Furthermore, when I learned of this violent action after the radio announcement that evening, I became anxious and went to a friend's house. I spent the night there. This matter is present in the statements made during the initial investigation. This also shows that, just as I was unaware of the current movement, I did not expect any negative consequences from such a movement. Because for a person to be certain of what they know, they must be certain. It is clear that I did not have any negative consequences in this, but rather that I was anxious.

An excerpt from Tekin Erer's book "Ten Years of Struggle"

SBS, YOU'RE A STRANGER TO ME

He approached the governor. He shook the governor's hand and smiled as he said goodbye. Then he turned to his friends:

"— Bururunus Hasan Bey," he said. The special secretary, Hasan Polatkan, retired general Tahsin Yabancı, and a few deputies got into two cars and set off towards Kütahya. It was semi-dark. But the horizon was slowly beginning to lighten. There was hardly any conversation in the car, only thoughts... After a while, the chief of staff asked:

•— Sir, how about turning on the radios? This question went unanswered. They shuddered as if they were about to hear bad news on the radio. A few seconds later, Hasan Polatkan said:

•— " 's... let's open it..." he said.

They turned on the Ankara radio. The radio was playing marches. In this twilight and inside the vehicle travelling at full speed, listening to Mary had excited them greatly. They had almost forgotten the coup, where they were going, and why. At that moment, the radio fell silent, and a muffled, deep voice began to say:

•— From 3 o'clock onwards, the armed land, air and sea forces have taken control of the country.

"— We must bring this movement to a peaceful conclusion and, as soon as possible, establish a neutral administration, granting power to whichever side wins, regardless of who that may be."

Menderes:

## TEMRL VIEWS

"— These are lies, my friend. If Ktm wins, they will hand over the administration to him... This means that in ten years' time, we will still be in power. So why are they taking control of the country?"

At this point, Tahsin Yazıcı said, "The voice speaking to me feels foreign.  
"•eImiyor•, my friend.

Ractyo continued:

c— This initiative is not directed against any particular person or group. Our aim is to prevent the spread of rumours. No one will be subjected to personal attacks or violations, nor will anyone be allowed to engage in such behaviour.

## THEY WILL SAVE ME TOO

After every sentence was read, it was repeated once more. Hasan Polatkan, when this last sentence was said for the second time:

"— We can now rest assured with these words, he said. It is understood that the army has intervened between the People's Party and the Democratic Party. They will make a complete break. Any disagreements between the two parties will be resolved in this manner."

Menderes

c— If they keep their word, we should be grateful to them. They would save me too. I would be grateful to them. They would also do the country the greatest favour. Essentially, one should think of this abnormal situation in this way. But I cannot bring myself to believe these words.

Tahsin Yazıcı interjected:

— Believe me, sir... It is customary in our army not to interfere in politics. The late Atatürk and Marshal Çakmak established this tradition. It is not easy to break a 40-year tradition.

. I am certain that our friends' intervention is entirely well-intentioned and that, after fulfilling their role as arbitrators between the two parties, our friends in the army

Menderes did not respond to Tansin Yazıcı's words.  
However:

"— Could you recognise the voice, sir?" he asked.

"It's a voice I know very well, but I haven't been able to identify it yet."

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The voice in the recording continues, repeating the sentences:

"Regardless of who they are or which party they belong to, all citizens will be treated equally, with respect and affection, as members of the same nation, and all will be protected by the law."

Fasan Polatran:

"— Tahsin Pasha is right. They keep repeating the same words. This action, it seems, has been carried out in the name of a complete act of treason."

Tahsin Yazıcı:

"I think I recognise that voice," he said. "That must be the voice of Colonel Alpaslan Türkeş. If I am not mistaken, I have found new evidence for you, as I mentioned a moment ago. Because the People's Party had weathered many storms during that period. It is impossible for them to act in their favour. It is clear that this is a dirty trick."

Menderes replied to these words:

"— I know him; I was a restless young man."

Tekin Erer. *Ten Years of Struggle*.

Istanbul, 1964. p. 15.

35

Alparslan Türkeş's 12 October 1969 after the elections,  
from a conversation with Abdi İpe\*s, Editor-in-Chief of Milliyet  
Newspaper

"Sir, if you wish, let us first analyse the election results. How do you interpret the outcome your party achieved in the elections? And what are your general thoughts on the election results?"

— Sir, we did not fail to calculate the results we achieved in these elections. However, we did not foresee the possibility that we would only elect one Member of Parliament. We believed we could elect more MPs, we were confident. But we also realised that our calculations might not fully reflect our expectations. We also thought there was a possibility of facing a deadlock situation, due to the changes in the electoral law. Therefore, we were not overly surprised by the result. However, the increase in our votes naturally pleased us. Our votes increased by 35 per cent compared to the previous elections. This increase was not as rapid as we had expected. We had anticipated a greater rise in our votes.

O You were expecting more than 35 per cent.

Yes, we were expecting more.

O What are the factors that confirm this expectation?

— Sir, the contacts you made in various places before the elections, the contacts we made in villages, districts and provinces, the meetings we held, attracted a great deal of interest. Thousands of citizens welcomed us and saw us off. Our meetings and rallies attracted a lot of interest. These were signs.

O How do you explain this increase in interest?

— Sir, this increase in interest is due to the citizens' trust in the ruling party.

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, the ruling party's failure to deliver what citizens expected, and the fact that our advanced ideas and programme are receiving a great deal of interest from our compatriots.

Colonel, **if I'm not mistaken**, these ideas and programmes are not fully understood by the public. But they do leave an impression. They are evaluated more concretely, generally speaking...

— Now, there are things the citizen wants and expects. First and foremost, there are things they want and expect. These are security and safety. They should be able to travel comfortably. Their honour, their property, their lives must be constantly protected, guaranteed. Our citizens today are victims of lawlessness. There are many robberies every day. Incidents occur, as you know. Secondly, they complain about injustice and unfairness. Thirdly, they complain that the system is inefficient and ineffective. We see the reason for this in the weakness of the government. They want strong administration and a strong government.

These are their complaints. I wanted to focus more on the reasons for your dissatisfaction...

— Yes, I am trying to list them. After that, I will focus on the living space, the interior space. Then, the desire to enter into a social assistance and social security system, which is part of our programme. This is one of the things we have always promised. I will establish a social assistance and security organisation that encompasses the entire Turkish people, from Edirne to Kars. To establish a system of equal opportunity. To eliminate usury, profiteering, and exploitation. And to make it completely free economically. Our country is under economic slavery. It has been 46-47 years since the War of **Independence**, but economically, Turkey has not achieved salvation or progress. We explain this to the people. We explain that governments have been on the wrong path, that development policies have focused more on Istanbul, **Izmir**, Ankara, and that this path has not served to develop the Turkish nation. We explain that the Europeanisation process has been ongoing since the imperial era, and that our plan and policy is to initiate development from Anatolia, the periphery, and the villages.

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

We explained to the public that building a closed sports hall costing 95 million lira in Istanbul and 87 million lira in Izmir, as well as other closed sports halls costing 100 million lira, were actions against the rapid economic development of the country, as they were entirely contrary to the principles of the current administration. We have explained to the public that these investments are detrimental to the country's ability to achieve rapid economic development. Instead, we must postpone these projects and focus on agricultural and industrial investments that are appropriate and modern, enabling production in the agricultural sector, as well as in the industrial sector, to enable modern, appropriate production. We explain that unless this is achieved, the construction of indoor sports halls or ornate opera houses will not benefit the people's poverty or the country's development. And for all these reasons, I am putting forward the ideas we have proposed. We say that those who have governed the country for 150 years have tried to crudely copy the outward appearance of the advanced Western countries. They hoped that this copying would bring prosperity to the country. However, this has not been possible and remains impossible today. For example, since the Tanzimat, administrators have attempted to implement a caricatured form of the capitalist, liberal system in Turkey. But this is Turkey's problem. It is not our job to solve it. It has not provided stability to Turkey. Today, there are still those who copy this capitalist system, and there are also those who argue that the Marxist system is superior. They too are Marxists, communists. We find both of these approaches to be mistaken. In our view, Turkey has its own urban realities and its own conditions. It is necessary to take these realities and conditions into account and, guided by modern science and technology, establish a wholly national system.

You reject the idea that the system you propose is derived from the West, and you claim that capitalist, **communist**, and **Marxist** systems are a kind of fascist order. I know that in our numerous conversations, you have rejected these claims. However, there are some basic arguments used in these claims. If you agree, let us examine their main points. **For now**, let me mention **one example that comes to mind**.

## BELGELER

I believe it was in our election programme and in your language as well. Your views on trade unionism. You said that there would be a single type of trade union. There would be one trade union for each workplace, and membership of these trade unions would be compulsory. Now, if I'm not mistaken, sir, this was a principle applied in Mussolini's Italy, that is, in a regime known as fascist. Here, people are acting on this and putting forward the argument that your views resemble a fascist ideology. This...

— The system applied in Fascist Italy was not this. The system applied in Fascist Italy was the corporatist system. In that system, employers and workers were organised together within a corporation, and administration was based on a council comprising representatives of the corporations. Our views have nothing to do with this. We do not accept the corporatist system. Our views are aimed at better protection for workers and meeting all the needs of all workers. In the current situation, yellow unions are established very quickly and easily. This is detrimental to the workers. It divides, fragments, and cripples the unions that truly represent the workers and are beneficial to them. Then...

p So, is your proposal actually to prevent yellow unionism?

— Yes, to prevent yellow unionism.

Doesn't this also mean compulsory unionism? - that compulsory unionism...

— Now, there are **Medical** Associations. Every doctor must be a member of the Medical Association. This system still exists in our country. **There are** Chambers of Commerce. Everyone engaged in trade must be a member of the Chamber of Commerce. Chambers of Industry...

**Fl...**

Is there no difference between professional organisations and trade unions?

between professional organisations and trade unions?

— No. They are very similar.

Well, don't you think free trade unionism not considered contrary to the principles of a free trade union?

— No. It is not. For example, take a look at construction work today.  
construction work

Over 60 door workers are on strike. Unionisation. In fact, this



## BASIC VIEWS

exceed 60,000. They are middle-class, they are owners. They get injured, they get sick, they even die during construction. They are left destitute. They cannot get any help. This is because they are not unionised. If there were a compulsory union membership requirement, all of them would be union members. And they would be insured against all kinds of needs, including work accidents. Considering all this, we defend this view.

Is there no such danger, sir? If the union establishes a relationship with the employer like a yellow union,

, workers will be deprived of the right to join another union, so the obstacle you are trying to prevent will emerge even more strongly this time.

— Yes, Fani, the Union Management Board; if it agrees with the employers' union, then the workers can change it, dismiss it. After all, they come with their voices, they elect themselves with their voices.

O The same could be said for the yellow union. The yellow union leaders could be removed from their duties by the workers.

— It's good, but it causes division. It's difficult for the worker to understand. The man gives money, takes out five or ten people, gets them to form a union, gets two unions formed. There will be only one union here. It's highly unlikely that the Union Management Board will be able to reach an agreement with the Employers' Unions. Because the Management Board will consist entirely of people from the employers' side.

They will come with their voices. We see this as a very remote possibility

O Sir, there was also the much-discussed issue of the "commandos". As far as I understand, you established the commandos with the aim of keeping young people away from bad habits and educating them well. Indeed, when I look at it from this perspective, I see no problem. However, when this organisation is linked to a political party, when it is run by a political party, it is no longer simply a matter of keeping young people away from bad habits and educating them well, but rather it becomes a political party working alongside a political party.

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It becomes an active youth organisation. That is when such allegations can be made. What are your thoughts on this matter?

— Sir, now that political parties have emerged, what do they consider to be legitimate pressure groups in every country? By collaborating with these legitimate pressure groups and various powerful organisations, they attempt to pave their way to power. Until the Nationalist Movement Party came along, other political parties had been quite active in recent years. They have organised street movements, held demonstrations, organised rallies, and even caused many riots. In other words, the Nationalist Movement Party is not the first party to organise youth. Every party does it, tries to do it, and should do it. However, when organising, they only thought of using young people as a means to achieve their immediate political goals. They did not think beyond that, of preparing young people for the future, making them stronger, more cultured, more alert, and capable of successfully shouldering responsibilities in the administration of the country. They thought only of their own short-term goals. Today, there are still such organisations. If they cannot establish organisations as effective as ours, then naturally that is a deficiency they must look for within themselves. Like other political parties, we have established and continue to establish youth organisations. We have various objectives for this; as you know, young people are mostly exposed to bad habits in cafes, game rooms, fire halls, discos, gambling dens, *and other such* places. We aim to prevent this, provide them with education that will enrich their culture, encourage them to engage in sports and physical activities to develop their bodies, and at the same time, organise and mobilise them against communist activities and communist movements that are spreading throughout the country. At the same time, we are working to send them to villages during holidays, to familiarise them with the country and accustom them to helping villagers. And, of course, we are also considering how to utilise their presence in the activities of our party's youth wing.

## BASIC OPINION

Like y?

— For example, I will send them to villages, to rural areas. At the same time, they will promote and introduce our ideology, our beliefs, our programme.

Is there no respect for religion today?

— Sir, today there is disrespect for religion. There is also a lot of exploitation. There is exploitation of religion. And there has been for a long time. You have seen various countries, various nations. Every nation has a religion, religious institutions. They have functions within society. In Turkey, this has been neglected.

What should I do, for example, in your opinion?

— It is necessary to educate enlightened individuals. It is necessary to educate enlightened individuals and to bring together and unite teachers, imams, and religious figures with enlightened individuals in other fields. It is not beneficial for the country for these two groups to be in conflict with each other, viewing each other with hostility. For the sake of the people, it is necessary to bring them closer together, to make them understand each other, and to make them work hand in hand.

How can this be achieved, sir?

— This can be achieved through education. It requires the proper training of both village imams and religious scholars, as well as our teachers, and fostering cooperation in this regard. Because the people are devoted to religion. They trust and accept the words of religious scholars more readily. If we enlighten our religious leaders on the issues facing our country and enlighten our other intellectuals on religious matters, and bring them closer together, the development of our country will be easier and faster. And the people and the intellectuals will become closer to each other. Today, the enlightened and the common people are separate. They are distrustful of each other. There is a division.

p Can religion bridge this divide?

— To some extent, it can bridge the gap and bring  
them closer together.

p Ef enâim, the Turkish Workers' Party's decline in these elections and its ability to send very few representatives to parliament, as well as the Justice Party's continued dominance, have sparked a new wave of enthusiasm among socialist circles.

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idea in socialist circles. It is said that progressive parties in Turkey will never be able to win elections. It is impossible for a socialist party to come to power through parliamentary elections. Now, is it possible to think of a parallel for the Nationalist Movement Party , or do you think so? Dani, you also did not have a cadre capable of coming to power in the short term based on the election results in parliament. Does the same hopelessness, that is, parliamentary hopelessness, create a similar sense of hopelessness towards the election?

— No. We do not want to come to power without developing our young cadre. We believe that it is very difficult to achieve our goals with our current cadre. Turkey has major problems. And these major problems require major reforms and major moves. To achieve this, we need an idealistic, reformist cadre. The reason for the failure of the 27 May coup was precisely that it did not have such an idealistic reforming civilian cadre. If we were to become the ruling party today, without such a cadre, we would be forced to submit to the existing order and its constraints. In this respect, we are in no hurry to seize power without first training our own cadre. Secondly, according to our understanding, social events and social development, especially given the nature of the T u r k i s h nation, cannot be rushed or forced. At first, it will be very slow. However, as the ranks are filled with straw, it suddenly accelerates. Then it speeds up to a degree that defies reason. That is why we have not fallen into despair over today's outcome, this slow pace. **We are not hopeless.** I am describing our situation. **There is** progress. But it is **slow** progress. However, it is progress, **and** we are **naturally** pursuing it. This slow progress will continue. But as the teams develop, it will accelerate and suddenly speed up. Then the things we have been thinking about will happen. We will come to power with the will and consent of the nation, and we will do what we have been thinking about.

Sir, on 27 May, introduced you to everyone as the leader of a group that came to power with the intention of carrying out radical reforms. as the leader of a group that came to power to implement reforms. Your statements that day could be interpreted as meaning that you changed your strategy.

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

— Of course, circumstances compel people to change their views. If people stubbornly insist on the same views in changing circumstances, they cannot be successful. The circumstances on 27 May were different. On that day, a strong wind was blowing across the country. In the first months, 27 May was met with great enthusiasm and excitement by the Turkish people; it was welcomed with approval. The circles we were in said, "You did the right thing." They said, "Don't go." "There are these problems, these issues. We'll sort them out, you'll see," they said. That's why, in the context of the events of that day, my friends and I wanted to carry out radical reforms. That's why we were not in favour of rushing to the polls. We wanted the National Unity Committee to hold power for a period of time and to carry out the organisational work we considered necessary for the country. After that, we wanted the National Unity Committee to hold new elections, to establish a democratic system, and to gradually lead the country towards a democratic system. As you know, differences arose among our colleagues on this issue, and we were unable to continue our work.

That's how it was then. That's how it happened. Then we returned to our homeland. We looked around and saw that the revolutionaries were everywhere in the country. Everyone, regardless of their capacity or situation, was playing a revolutionary game every day. Of course, we also realised that this was harmful for the country. Because the survival of a nation depends on stability above all else. It needs security, it needs order. Anyway, those days passed.

H a v e they passed?

— Those who want to stir up revolutionary sentiment are sitting there. We see what is written from time to time, we hear what is said.

t     How are you managing, sir?

— Sir, I cannot agree. Because, first and foremost, I respect the country's laws. Revolution is easy to talk about. The personnel who will carry out the revolution are important. We need very well-trained personnel. On 27 May, I experienced this first-hand. I was there. I encountered many things. We have not yet written about our memories and experiences on that subject. God willing, we will write about them in the future. We will reveal some very interesting things. When the time comes, it will be revealed. These require very well-trained, cultured, and knowledgeable personnel. T h o s e personnel

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Without it, success cannot be achieved. Take the War of Independence, for example. It was a struggle at the same time. But according to him, there was a Raârosu. That cadre led him to success. Despite that, there were many difficulties, many hardships, many sorrows. The stories continue, they keep going. That is why I do not consider it appropriate to have such a random revolutionary leader.

Abdi Iretsi. Liâerler says. (Interviews, Art Publications 28.  
Istanbul, December 1969. p. 291

Alparslan Türkeş's radio speech dated 27 May 1960

Dear Fellow Citizens,

This evening marks the sixth anniversary of 27 May. Six years ago, our armed forces felt it necessary to take control of the administration on behalf of the nation and in the interests of the people. During the events and turmoil preceding 27 May, two opposing views emerged. One of these was that the action to be taken should be non-partisan and that the nation should be served with respect, justice and equality, viewing it as a whole.

•He was knitting. We, that is, the group later known as the 14s, were in the first group. On the other side, those who wanted to remove the Democratic Party from power as quickly as possible and hand over the administration to the CHP, led by İsmet İnönü, who was the General Chairman, and bring İnönü to the presidency, believed that the CHP was the only party competent to govern the country. In opposition to these views, we argued that joining forces with the C.H. Party, which represented less than half of the nation, to take a stand against the rest of the nation would mean destroying the country, and that İsmet İnönü's personality had been worn down, preventing him from representing National Unity. They argued that bringing İnönü and the C.H. Party to power would turn the Army into a partisan force, and worse, that this situation would lead the C.H. Party, unable to win the C.H. Party through elections, to resort to provoking the Army and resorting to force, ultimately tarnishing the Army's reputation. (1k a stain on its reputation. This is why bringing a non-partisan figure to the presidency, a party-

!erüstü bfr no one to the Prime Minister's Office and parties to the mtl-

## DOCUMENTS

We were considering establishing a 2t btr administration and taking swift action to uplift the people.

The DP was closed down by an independent court at the request of a DP lawyer on the grounds that it had not held its congresses. The DP, which constituted half of my nation and had votes

This majority, whose only crime is to give, is our nation. When party life began, of course, the individuals who organised them would be found. Gambling with the fate of the country. A party founded by incompetent people could drag the country into turmoil. For this reason, patriotic, nationalist and reformist M8K should prevent such dangers by striking the National Unity Party. Mr Gürsel also embraced this idea and imposed it on the Committee. Despite the objections of a few CHP-sympathetic committee members, this proposal was accepted by the committee. Unfortunately, our exile prevented us from implementing this. The weak and incompetent leadership of the A.P. has proven how right we were by bringing the country to these troubled times.

The 27 May operation began in accordance with the views of the 14s. A neutral president was appointed, not a party-affiliated one. There was no neither the civilian population nor the state forces raised any objection or resistance. The Turkish nation welcomed 27 May with great joy and enthusiasm. Various groups of citizens from all over the country sent letters, telegrams or came in person to express their congratulations and say, "Let us rule ourselves. Don't leave it in İnönü's hands." Meanwhile, **the M.B.E.** began its work. First, a constitution was drafted. One article of this constitution stated that individuals belonging to political parties would not be appointed to the interim government.

&gt;In order to heal the wounds and bring peace to the country, a non-partisan administration was working and wanted to make major moves to uplift the nation. With this aim, we had undertaken many tasks. However, the committee members, who had always held a different view, strongly opposed us and said: Why are we undertaking these tasks? These are long-term projects. We have destroyed one enemy, our task is complete. Now let's immediately hold elections. \*Why are we undertaking these long-term projects? We have destroyed a government; our duty is done. Now let's hold elections immediately. Let the party that comes to power deal with these matters." The GHP also constantly provoked this group and



## BASIC VIEWS

were in full cooperation. Mr Gürsel, who had seen İnönü at that time, described his impressions to Rome as follows:

\*Saxın İnönü will enter the arena like a lion eager and passionate for power. Indeed, in the memoirs of the late Avni Dogan published in the Dünya newspaper, it was revealed how İnönü wanted to show his mettle in order to dismantle the National Unity Committee and render it ineffective, thereby seizing power. Some of our friends, who were working closely with the CHP, which was against us, were pressuring us intensely, saying, "Let's hold elections as soon as possible; let's leave the opposition to Ismet Pasha, and we'll become natural senators." However, the new constitution had not yet been prepared. The goodwill and enmity among the people remained as they were, the necessary steps for the country's development had not been taken, and even the Planning Organisation had not been established. Parallel to their pressure on the Committee, the G.H.P. had also mobilised all its propaganda resources to denigrate us. They claimed everywhere that we were protecting people referred to as "tail-enders" and "lowlives" and collaborating with them, that we wanted to establish a dictatorship, and that we were against elections. The Romounts, having realised that we were nationalist and anti-communist and that there was no hope of deceiving us, worked against us in full cooperation with the G.H.P. They were also trying to turn the people against us by listing many other accusations and lies, such as that we were fascists, Nazis, and racists. The reason the leaders of the People's Party were against us was that they realised we were not going to hand over power to them quickly.

We believed that rushing into elections would plunge the country back into turmoil. For a time, we believed that governing the state above party politics was necessary to restore peace and eliminate the hostility that had undermined national unity. At the same time, we wanted to make radical moves that the parties would not make due to their concern for votes. When I returned to the country from India, I summarised these ideas in a statement I published. Şimrli

## **BELGELEER**

I will read this statement to you tomorrow evening. The second part of the speech I will present the second part of the speech tomorrow evening.

The statement is as follows.

•Dear Citizens,

As a man of ideals and faith, I left my homeland two years ago and went far away. Today, filled with the same determination and faith, and carrying great hopes for the future of the Turkish nation, I rejoice in being reunited with you once again.

Being one of you and an ordinary citizen is the source of my pride and excitement.

I would like to reiterate that I consider the secret of the nation's unity, which is upheld above all else, and the respect and obedience shown to it by everyone, to be a path to salvation.

On the morning of 27 May 1960, I wrote to you and broadcast it on the radio.

I have always remained faithful to the spirit and essence of that declaration. I see the peace and progress of the country reflected in the spirit and essence of that declaration.

Without regard to race, religion or sect, every effort must be made to ensure the welfare and happiness of citizens and to swiftly establish peace and stability in the country with a humanistic mindset that values people. As an authorised person, I find it beneficial to declare that I stand against any kind of ambitious and selfish attitude that seeks to undermine the goals of 27 May in these blessed lands of our homeland.

My dear fellow citizens!

The 27 May coup was not directed against any party or group, nor was it carried out in favour of any individual, group or party. It was carried out in the interests of the entire Turkish nation and for its benefit.

27 May was not considered a coup d'état, i.e., the removal of a ruling party from power by force of arms and its replacement with an opposition party. Its roots lie in the depths of the original sources. To bring the peasantry and masses, abandoned in misery, deprivation and darkness, to modern civilisation by the shortest route and with the greatest speed, to make the Turkish state stand on its own feet.

## TEIVIEL VIEWS

It was done with the aim of protecting national unity, which was endangered by selfish ambitions and personal interests, and of preventing civil strife. It was done to establish a system of justice and law that is transparent, without causing the slightest harm to any citizen, and without allowing any difference in treatment between them. It was done to raise the country's defence capabilities to the highest level and to rescue the Turkish Armed Forces from the neglect they had been subjected to since the Second World War. It was done to make landless peasants landowners, to establish a system of mutual aid encompassing the entire nation, and to ensure that no citizen was left helpless and ownerless.

The Union of Fine Arts and Sports was established to rapidly develop the country by sending intellectuals and young people to villages and rural areas to promote cultural activities.

The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges, Turkish Cultural Associations, and similar institutions were established to ensure vigilance, develop national culture, and strengthen national unity. were established to ensure vigilance, develop national culture, and strengthen national unity. It was done by lighting the torch of 27 May, to rapidly develop and bring the Turkish nation into the space age in the shortest time possible.

To save Turkey from the spiritual domination of harmful influences and to make it a nation with national characteristics, a sense of conscience and a sense of duty.

To achieve this, it has been done!

In short, the Turkish Renaissance...

Magnificent Citizen. With today's attitude and determination, we must consider how many centuries it will take to achieve the goals set out, and we must also take into account that modern countries will not wait for us during the coming centuries. Today, the world has entered the atomic age. Just as the scientific and technical developments of the 19th century revolutionised social, economic and political life, the coming atomic and space age will also bring about great changes. We must make a leap forward, leap over the ages and enter the atomic and space age.

In our dealings with one another, mutual love, respect, and tolerance should always prevail. Political parties should be regarded not as a means of domination, but solely as a means of serving the country and the nation.

Regardless of who they are, loyalty, love and respect for the homeland must be considered a prerequisite. Accepting their ideas

## DOCUMENTS

or with whom we have personal disagreements must be treated within the framework of human rights and the rule of law. The nation and state must be organised with a view that places science and technology above all else.

Dear Citizens.

The Turkish Nation, to which I belong, is a nation endowed with great capabilities and great strength. Our power and will are sufficient to overcome the difficulties before us and to confront the dangers that have been turned against us.

O great Turkish Nation, born of the great storms of the past, of unparalleled glory and honour, and destined to reach a happy tomorrow, I salute you with love and respect.

Atparslan Türleş's 27 May 1968  
speech.

radio

Today is 27 May 1968. We remember the turmoil and darkness that our beloved homeland fell into and was plunged into six years ago.

We observe with sorrow how our nation, left behind, neglected, and isolated from the rest of the world, is struggling with political hatred and resentment in a rapidly changing world advancing by giant strides.

We have lived through a period in which this enmity has divided our beloved nation into two hostile factions, spreading to the marketplace, the coffeehouse, the cemetery, and even within families. To prevent **the situation from** becoming more dire and more v i o l e n t , to protect national unity from being further undermined, to prevent political struggle from becoming a cause for division,

In order to reconcile the Turkish nation, to bring politics within the bounds of a method that would accelerate development, and to stop the blind violence that had spilled into the streets, the intervention of the armed forces was necessary.

As a military officer, in a period when all resources were exhausted, I was one of those who endeavoured to carry out this intervention in the least harmful, least painful manner possible.

There was a lesson to be learned from all these painful events: measures should have been taken to prevent the recurrence of these conflicts and necessary interventions. A balance should be established between benefits and duties , the state's presence should be strengthened, and issues of rejection should be discussed to achieve stability and clarity. To this end, the action taken should not have been directed towards finding the guilty, punishing them, or reducing them to silence, but rather towards establishing balance, finding solutions, and healing wounds. Our intention

## DOCUMENTS

This has been the realistic, fair and comprehensive goal.

Our aim was to save the state, protect the nation, and rebuild it with a character that would strengthen and elevate it. It was to mobilise all the resources of the nation and all the capabilities of the people, and to transcend the ages in order to achieve the greatest Turkey, reaching all the benefits of modern technology in the shortest possible time.

This goal was the heavy weight in the balance of the day. We would be a state that maintained peace in the region and lived without begging foreigners.

This remains the only path, the only goal, the only objective. Unfortunately, this path has been blocked. The administration of the state has fallen into the hands of ambitious statesmen and political opportunists who prioritise the allure of power over the allure of work and fame over the allure of fame.

They were ruthless and cruel. They did not consider the state's ships, the nation's future, or the course of history.

They should refrain from using a great and NATIONAL MOVEMENT as a tool for their personal ambitions. The Turkish Nation had embarked on a great path, but it was diverted to personal interests and strayed from its goal. I dedicate this to those who shared my excitement on that day, 27 May.

The state must be established. 27 May must be restored to its course before 13 November.

The administrative apparatus must be reorganised and freed from being a cumbersome, expensive mechanism that exhausts civil servants and frustrates citizens.

We must rid ourselves of a mentality that promotes development that does not exceed the boundaries of cities and municipalities and increases land speculation. We must stop Turkey from being a country where public services are only partially functioning in the largest cities and where municipalities boast about meeting the most basic needs.

The necessary labour, materials and knowledge exist in Turkey. Only the state lacks a plan or organisation. Millions of people live openly or secretly unemployed. No, this is not a way of life. It is merely filling time. Those who hold power and those who seek power, instead of finding a solution to this, stir up their emotions, make unrealistic promises, and deceive them.

From Edirne to Ears, in a devastated country, only is rebuilding.

## TEMEL GÖRÜŞLER

While the labour of millions of people is needed, the labour of six million people is being wasted. It is imperative to wage a labour war and achieve victory.

A war for national education must be waged, and the plan and purpose of this war must be made known to the nation and accepted by it.

We must rid ourselves of the current situation where every teacher instils their own ideas into the children entrusted to them. Schools, which have been sacred throughout our history and are part of our culture, must be rescued from their current state.

Teachers must receive the respect they deserve and earn their place in society. The nation's children should be educated according to their abilities, relying on state support rather than their parents' means, and should not be deprived of the opportunities denied to them by poverty.

The establishment of cultural cities should be accelerated and the homeland should be enlightened. An organisation for the unity of ideals and culture should be established. Village, peasant and land relations should be addressed through creative pauses, rather than through crude provocations, hatred and creative pauses should be considered a means to an end, and should be pursued with clear, obvious, transparent accounts.

An insurance system covering all citizens should be established, and they should be freed from the shameful practices of doctors and pharmacists haggling over money, like price wars in the market of life.

The Financial Organisation should be restructured, and a fair and simple tax system should be implemented. The fundamental principle of taxation should be that the taxpayer is not an oppressed enemy but a friend to be protected.

Foreign policy must be addressed now with a view to the Turkey of the future; it must be dedicated to renewing material and spiritual relations in all the regions that constitute our historical and spiritual heritage.

International agreements boyundırık attzne girmek içizz  
but rather burdens that must be borne for security. Like any other burden, the ratio between its benefits and burden must always be kept in check.

Our foreign trade must become Turkish. Our foreign trade must not be controlled by a group of five people whose eyes are abroad, whose hearts are abroad, whose roots are abroad, and who keep their hands in our pockets. It must shift towards the hands of Turks who invest domestically and whose roots run deep in this soil.

## DOCUMENTS

These objectives were the tasks we had planned and begun to achieve by 27 May. Unfortunately, they were abandoned and betrayed by those who remained and the politicians who exploited them.

And the May 27th movement was diverted from its purpose. May 27th failed to reach its goal. Had the non-partisan, impartial administration we promised and tried to establish on the morning of May 27th not been destroyed by hasty elections, a happier, stronger Turkey would have been established that very day.

What is more painful and worse than all these unfinished tasks is that a communist effort, which has been lying in wait since 1919, living under the radar, has surfaced and is advancing, using 27 May as a shield, and is also trying to make every attack against itself appear to be directed at 27 May. -

Like a doctor entering to treat a sick state, the poisonous cold has also seeped in through the door opened by the 27 May revolution. It should be clearly understood that this poisonous cold has no connection to that doctor.

My dear nation.

27 May is not, as the reckless rulers of today claim, a movement by a handful of usurpers to seize control of the state, but rather a movement by the honourable Turkish Armed Forces to unite the nation, to elevate it, to bring it together. Neither the Turkish Armed Forces nor the great Turkish nation will ever bow to the will of a handful of people. May 27 is the work of the Turkish Armed Forces and belongs to the Turkish nation. My comrades of that day and today, patriotic intellectuals... my noble and steadfast nation... Beware of those who distort 27 May, those who change its direction, those who divert it from its goal, those who exploit and abuse 27 May. Embrace 27 May with t h a t spirit and guide it towards its goal by evaluating it in this way.

My dear fellow citizens.

Today, we are engaged in the struggle to preserve Turkey, which is divided by various conflicts, and to unite it under the banner of unity and solidarity. Our flag is the flag of nationalism, the flag of the Republic. I call upon all citizens, regardless of party affiliation, to gather under this flag to defend the honour of my nation.



Alparslan TürReş's radio address dated 28 May 1968.

Dear fellow citizens.

Yesterday evening, I gave you some s p e c i f i c information about 27 March. I say specific because it was very brief. It is impossible to cover the essence of these issues in a time span of ten minutes. We will publish our thoughts on these matters in detail in the future. Now, I will try to explain the reasons for this evening, 13 November:

The disagreement between members of the National Unity Committee with differing views was intensifying. The CHP played a major role in this. From September onwards, the Committee was divided into two hostile factions. To establish unity, Şhensi kurmrk and our well-intentioned friends were making great efforts to reach an agreement. To this end, various meetings were held between the groups. At that time, some friends from the opposing group, who were in close contact with Ismet Pasha, brought the committee's proposal for natural senators to the committee. This issue was discussed at length in late October by the committee convened under the chairmanship of Güçsel Pasha. During the discussions, eleven members, who were now natural senators, strongly advocated its acceptance. However, we, the fourteen, who were not fourteen at the time but more, did not find this right, arguing that it would be a betrayal of the promise we had made before the people ( to serve without e x p e c t i n g a n y t h i n g in return reminine betrayal. During the negotiations, a friend of mine from the FOURTEEN stood up and said in an angry voice, "This is a political ploy, Ismet Pasha's to take power from us ."

## BASIC OPINION

It is an outdated institution, and no modern country has such an institution. It is also contrary to our principles. We have pledged to serve the nation without expecting anything in return. Therefore, it is natural that the position of senator cannot be accepted as a privilege. We have dedicated ourselves to the nation. We must now have the courage to continue serving.

Most members already share this view and this conviction. Consequently, at the end of the negotiations, it was decided by a majority of 26 votes to 11 to reject the Senate. For the same reason, it was proposed that the committee hold a referendum to obtain approval, that the four remain in power, that their conduct be investigated and approved, that they be organised as such a party, and that elections be held accordingly. Ultimately, this proposal was also deemed appropriate and adopted by a majority of 26 against eleven opponents.

However, 19 of the 26 people who voted in favour had not yet joined this decision, while the remaining seven had stated that they could join such a party on condition that they could examine and approve its programme and constitution. Furthermore, one of the decisions taken at this time was to convene a Constituent Assembly.

At the beginning of August, I personally submitted a motion requesting the urgent convening of an assembly called the People's Council. In fact, in our initial plan made before 27 May, it had been envisaged that such an assembly would be established if 27 May was successful.

Paliat, due to reasons that would take a long time to explain, this has not been implemented. However, in the final days of October 1960, the National Unity Committee deemed it necessary to establish a Constituent Assembly and undertook the necessary preparations for this purpose.

\*He granted this authority to President Cemal Gürsel Pasha. At the meeting held the following day, the eleven members who had opposed the decisions proposed that the negotiations be reopened in a conciliatory manner. And they attempted to overturn the decisions that had been made just one day earlier in the negotiations. They were unable to reach an agreement. At this point, we learned that Gürsel Pasha had formed a three-member committee to draft the Constitution of the Constituent Assembly and establish its structure. The members of this committee were all members of the Republican People's Party. The views of the Constituent Assembly that such a committee would prepare

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

We were deeply concerned that it would become a partisan body. Even if one believed that this would not be the case, we thought that the fact that all the people forming the committee had been selected from the G.H. Party would undermine confidence and cause certain problems. For this reason, we held a meeting attended by Pasha Gürsel. However, Pasha Gürsel did not chair the meeting; he sat among the members. We strongly criticised the fact that the three people selected by Pasha were also members of the G.H. Party. We pointed out the disadvantages of this. We proposed that four more members from impartial academics and other parties join the committee. The meeting dispersed without reaching a conclusion. A few days later, at another meeting chaired by Kadri Kaplan, the committee discussed the status of two members who had taken up positions outside the committee. In a vote, it was decided by a majority that both should immediately return to Rome, leaving their positions abroad. These events clearly highlighted the positions of the members, who held two different views, and led to 13 November.

The 13 November Movement is a continuation of the 27 May Movement. It is also a violation of the constitution. It is a violation of the 27 May Constitution, which all members of the National Unity accepted, signed and proclaimed. While on one side, former members of the government were being tried for violating the constitution on Yassıada, on the other side, the 13 Novemberists trampled on the constitution they themselves had made, 27

They have been slaughtering people since May. The CHP and the communists played a major role in the events of 13 November. After 13 November, the country was completely under the influence of a partisan administration. Four-fifths of the members of the constituent assembly were appointed by the CHP. Citizens who were not members of the People's Party faced increasing pressure and fear. Thousands of lies and slanders were spread behind our backs to discredit us, and nothing was left unsaid about us. The betrayal of 27 May in this way and the immoral accusations levelled against us by the Armed Forces with whom we worked together and served our country for years and served our country together for years, and whom we represented on 27 May, deeply saddened and spurred into action.

A group of opportunists and political profiteers, their friends—

exploited it. As a result, many unfortunate things happened in the country. I will not dwell on these for now. Let me just say this: 27 May **was** a wonderful **opportunity** to rapidly modernise the country. This **opportunity** was squandered. **May 27** did not achieve its goal. It deviated from its goal. The main culprits are İnönü and, of course, some of the senators. It is very sad that those who killed 27 May are now playing the role of 27 Mayists and appear to be defending 27 May. What they are doing is not defending 27 May, but exploiting 27 May for their own interests.

Dear fellow citizens;

I am explaining to you, in a very concise manner, certain events from our recent past. We had chosen not to discuss these matters publicly until now. I would still prefer to remain silent and not speak about them. **However**, the attitudes of certain opportunists and agitators have forced us to do so. Much has been written and said about the preparation and structure of the 27 May movement and its subsequent developments. Most of it is wrong, false and incomplete... In the future, these will be clarified in the light of the documents. Today, we as a nation are in need of mutual understanding, love and unity. Yüsi-

We must not always look back to the past. Past events are over. There is no way to bring them back and change them. We must turn our faces towards the future and work together, hand in hand, with brotherly feelings, to build a powerful, great Turkey. You must be careful not to let your pure feelings, your enthusiasm and compassion, you must be wary of those who seek to manipulate you for votes. We must unite, putting aside parties, party politics, and all kinds of strife and conflict, and hold our national unity above all else.

Unite, forgive, be tolerant, speak with one voice. Victory is the fountainhead of strength.

Victory is the union of many hearts. Greetings to those whose hearts are united.

To those who grieve in distant lands, greetings to you.

# **BERSERKER**

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## **BOOKS**

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